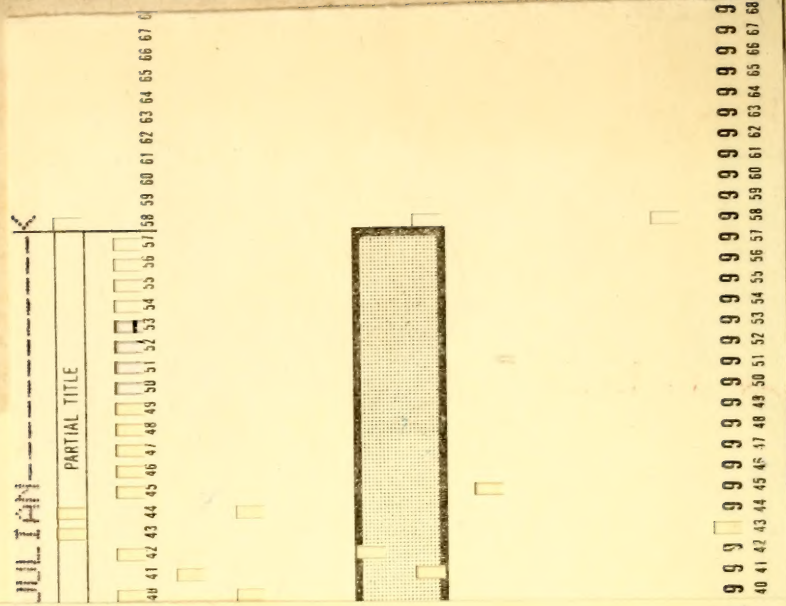

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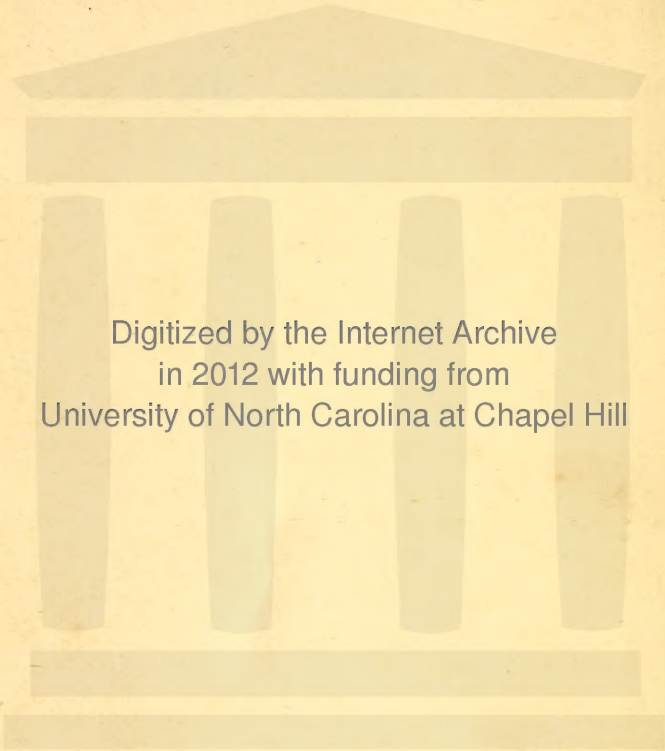

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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

II

George Howe

THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PENNSYLVANIA

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THE

ORATIONS AND SATIRES OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION VI

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

The Sixth Oration is a sermon or rather a scolding addressed to the New Cynics, and especially to one of their number who had ventured to defame the memory of Diogenes. In the fourth Christian century the Cynic mode of life was adopted by many, but the vast majority were illiterate men who imitated the Cynic shamelessness of manners but not the genuine discipline, the self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) which had ennobled the lives of Antisthenes, Diogenes and Crates. To the virtues of these great men Julian endeavours to recall the worthless Cynics of his day. In the two centuries that had elapsed since Lucian wrote, for the edification of degenerate Cynics,[1] the Life of the Cynic Demonax, the dignified and witty friend of Epictetus, the followers of that sect had still further deteriorated. The New Cynics may be compared with the worst type of mendicant friar of the Middle Ages; and Julian saw in their assumption of the outward signs of Cynicism, the coarse cloak, the staff and wallet, and long hair, the same hypocrisy and greed that characterised certain of the Christian monks of his day.[2] The resemblances

[1] Cf. Bernays, *Lukian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879.
[2] 224 c.

between the Christians and the Cynics had already been pointed out by Aristides,[1] and while in Julian's eyes they were equally impious, he has an additional grievance against the Cynics in that they brought discredit on philosophy. Like the Christians they were unlettered, they were disrespectful to the gods whom Julian was trying to restore, they had flattered and fawned on Constantius, and far from practising the austerities of Diogenes they were no better than parasites on society.

In this as in the Seventh Oration Julian's aim is to reform the New Cynics, but still more to demonstrate the essential unity of philosophy. He sympathised profoundly with the tenets of Cynicism, and ranked Diogenes with Socrates as a moral teacher. He reminds the Cynics whom he satirises that the famous admonition of Diogenes to "countermark"[2] or "forge" a new coinage is not to be taken as an excuse for license and impudence, but like the Delphic precept "Know Thyself" warns all philosophers to accept no traditional authority, no convention that has not been examined and approved by the reason of the individual. His conviction that all philosophical tenets are in harmony if rightly understood, gives a peculiar earnestness to his Apologia for Diogenes. The reference in the first paragraph to the summer solstice seems to indicate that the Oration was written before Julian left Constantinople in order to prepare for the Persian campaign.

[1] Aristides, *Orations* 402 D.

[2] The precise meaning of the phrase is uncertain; it has been suggested that it arose from the custom of altering or "countermarking" coins so as to adapt them for the regular currency; see 192 C, *Oration* 7. 208 D.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΝΑΣ

Ἄνω ποταμῶν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνὴρ Κυνικὸς Διογένη φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολουτεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἐρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ σφριγῶν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων, ὡς ἂν μή τι 181
κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς τροπαῖς ἤδη προσιόντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν τοῦ πολύποδος κωμῳδεῖ καί φησι τὸν Διογένη τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας ἐκτετικέναι ἱκανὰς[1] δίκας ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα. οὕτω πόρρω που σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὥστε ἐπίσταται σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τοῦτο δὲ ἀγνοεῖν ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦντι γοῦν, φασίν, Ἀντισθένει μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάληπτον ἀρρωστίαν ξιφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπών· εἰ φίλου Β
χρῄζεις ὑπουργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεινὸν

[1] ἱκανὰς Naber adds.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

Behold the rivers are flowing backwards,[1] as the proverb says! Here is a Cynic who says that Diogenes[2] was conceited, and who refuses to take cold baths for fear they may injure him, though he has a very strong constitution and is lusty and in the prime of life, and this too though the Sun-god is now nearing the summer solstice. Moreover he even ridicules the eating of octopus and says that Diogenes paid a sufficient penalty for his folly and vanity in that he perished of this diet[3] as though by a draught of hemlock. So far indeed is he advanced in wisdom that he knows for certain that death is an evil. Yet this even the wise Socrates thought he did not know, yes and after him Diogenes as well. At any rate when Antisthenes[4] was suffering from a long and incurable illness Diogenes handed him a dagger with these words, "In case you need the aid of

[1] A proverb signifying that all is topsy-turvy: cf. Euripides, *Medea* 413 ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί.

[2] Of Sinope: he was the pupil of Antisthenes and is said to have lived in a jar in the Metroum, the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Athens; he died 323 B.C.

[3] For the tradition that Diogenes died of eating a raw octopus cf. Lucian, *Sale of Creeds* 10.

[4] A pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic sect.

ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ ἀλγεινὸν τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκεῖθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος σοφίας ἴσμεν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν[1] τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ ῥιγοῦν δὲ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἔσθ' ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὥστε γίνεσθαι τρυφὴν αὐτόχρημα τὴν ἀρρωστίαν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ᾖ πλούσιος. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ C αὐτὸς νὴ Δία τρυφῶντάς τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μᾶλλον ἢ τούτους αὐτοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας· καίτοι γε καὶ τότε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. ὅθεν μοι καὶ παρέστη πρός τινας τῶν ἑταίρων εἰπεῖν, ὡς τούτοις ἄμεινον ἦν οἰκέταις γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένεσθαι τοῦ κρίνου γυμνοτέροις οὖσιν ἢ πλουτεῖν ὥσπερ νῦν. ἦ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἅμα καὶ τρυφῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοση- D λεύεσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὕτωσί τινες ἐν καλῷ ποιοῦνται· ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρύους ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσούντων ἀθλιώτερον πράττει; ἀλγεῖ γοῦν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεῦρο οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὁπόσα διδασκάλων ἠκούσαμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθῶμεν σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἰοῦσι τοῦτον· οἷς εἰ μὲν πειστέον, εὖ οἶδα, οὐδὲν οἵ γε νῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες 182
κυνίζειν ἔσονται χείρους· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μέν τι λαμπρὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύσειαν, ὑπερφωνοῦντες τὸν λόγον τὸν ἡμέτερον, οὔτι τοῖς

[1] φαμεν Hertlein suggests, φασι MSS.

a friend." So convinced was he that there is nothing terrible or grievous in death. But we who have inherited his staff know out of our greater wisdom that death is a calamity. And we say that sickness is even more terrible than death, and cold harder to bear than sickness. For the man who is sick is often tenderly nursed, so that his ill-health is straightway converted into a luxury, especially if he be rich. Indeed I myself, by Zeus, have observed that certain persons are more luxurious in sickness than in health, though even in health they were conspicuous for luxury. And so it once occurred to me to say to certain of my friends that it were better for those men to be servants than masters, and to be poor and more naked than the lily of the field[1] than to be rich as they now are. For they would have ceased being at once sick and luxurious. The fact is that some people think it a fine thing to make a display of their ailments and to play the part of luxurious invalids. But, says someone, is not a man who has to endure cold and to support heat really more miserable than the sick? Well, at any rate he has no comforts to mitigate his sufferings.

Come now, let me set down for the benefit of the public what I learned from my teachers about the Cynics, so that all who are entering on this mode of life may consider it. And if they are convinced by what I say, those who are now aiming to be Cynics will, I am sure, be none the worse for it: and if they are unconvinced but cherish aims that are brilliant and noble, and set themselves above my argument not in

[1] A proverb, but Julian may allude to *Matthew* 6. 28.

ῥήμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ὅ γε ἡμέτερος οἴσει λόγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λιχνείας ἢ μαλακίας ἤ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἵν' εἴπω ξυνελὼν ἐν βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένοι τῶν λόγων ὀλιγωρήσειαν προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὥσπερ B ἐνίοτε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπυλαίοις προσουροῦσιν, οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδίων ἡμῖν μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελούντων. δεῦρο οὖν ἄνωθεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθωμεν ἐφεξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τὸ προσῆκον ἀποδιδόντες αὐτοί τε εὐκολώτερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦθ' ὅπερ διενοήθημεν καὶ σοὶ ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολούθητον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἶδός τι φιλοσοφίας C εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, οὔτι φαυλότατον οὐδὲ ἀτιμότατον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐνάμιλλον, ὀλίγα πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥητέον ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἅμα φανοτάτῳ πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθεῖσα[1] ἐξ ἡλίου μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ μερίδος οὐχ ἕτερόν ἐστι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ νοῦ διανομήν· ὁ γάρ τοι Προμηθεύς, ἡ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύουσα τὰ θνητὰ πρόνοια, πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον ὥσπερ ὄργανον ὑπο- D βάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἅπασι μετέδωκεν ἀσωμάτου λόγου· μετέσχε δὲ ἕκαστον οὗπερ ἠδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα σώματα τῆς ἕξεως μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς[2] τὰ ζῷα δὲ ψυχῆς, ὁ δὲ

[1] *καταπεμφθεῖσα* Reiske would add.

[2] *τῆς ζωῆς* Wright *σώματος* Hertlein, MSS. Petavius suspects corruption.

words only but in deeds, then my discourse will at any rate put no hindrance in their way. But if there are others already enslaved by greed or self-indulgence, or to sum it up briefly in a single phrase, by the pleasures of the body, and they therefore neglect my words or even laugh them down—just as dogs sometimes defile the front porticoes of schools and law-courts,—"'Tis all one to Hippocleides,"[1] for indeed we take no notice of puppies who behave in this fashion. Come then let me pursue my argument under headings from the beginning in due order, so that by giving every question its proper treatment I may myself more conveniently achieve what I have in mind and may make it more easy for you also to follow. And since it is a fact that Cynicism is a branch of philosophy, and by no means the most insignificant or least honourable, but rivalling the noblest, I must first say a few words about philosophy itself.

The gift of the gods sent down to mankind with the glowing flame of fire[2] from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes[3] is no other than the bestowal of reason and mind. For Prometheus, the Forethought that guides all things mortal by infusing into nature a fiery breath to serve as an operative cause, gave to all things a share in incorporeal reason. And each thing took what share it could; lifeless bodies only a state of existence; plants received life besides,

[1] Herodotus 6. 129; Hippocleides, when told by Cleisthenes that by his unbecoming method of dancing he had "danced away his marriage," made this answer which became a proverb.

[2] An echo of Plato, *Philebus* 16 C; cf. Themistius 338 C.

[3] *e.g.* eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.

ἄνθρωπος καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἳ μίαν οἴονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ κατ' εἶδος ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μήπω τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τοῦτο ἐξεταζέσθω, πλὴν ἐκείνου χάριν, ὅτι, τὴν φιλοσοφίαν 183
εἴθ', ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, εἴτε ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ [1] κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἴθ', ὅπερ ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν ὑπολάβοι τις, οὐδὲν διοίσει πρὸς τὸν λόγον· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ μάλα οἰκείως ἔχοντα.

Ἀρξώμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ θεῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ παρακέλευσμα. οὐκοῦν ὁ γιγνώσκων αὑτὸν εἴσεται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, B
εἴσεται δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀρκέσει μόνον, ὡς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ψυχὴ χρωμένη σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἔπειτα ἀνιχνεύσει τὰς δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκέσει αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καί, εἴ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι κρεῖττον καὶ θειότερον, ὅπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθόμενοι θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐνιδρῦ- C
σθαι πάντες οὐρανῷ κοινῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν. ἐπιὼν δὲ αὖθις τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἴτε σύνθετον εἴτε ἁπλοῦν ἐστιν· εἶτα ὁδῷ προβαίνων ὑπέρ τε ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς ὧν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν. ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχαῖς τεχνῶν

[1] θεῷ Klimek, θεῶν Hertlein, MSS.

and animals soul, and man a reasoning soul. Now some think that a single substance is the basis of all these, and others that they differ essentially according to their species. But this question we must not discuss as yet, or rather not at all in the present discourse, and we need only say that whether one regards philosophy, as some people do, as the art of arts and the science of sciences or as an effort to become like God, as far as one may, or whether, as the Pythian oracle said, it means "Know thyself," will make no difference to my argument. For all these definitions are evidently very closely related to one another.

However, let us begin with "Know thyself," since this precept is divinely inspired.[1] It follows that he who knows himself will know not only about his soul but his body also. And it will not be enough to know that a man is a soul employing a body, but he will also investigate the essential nature of the soul, and then trace out its faculties. And not even this alone will be enough for him, but in addition he will investigate whatever exists in us nobler and more divine than the soul, that something which we all believe in without being taught and regard as divine, and all in common suppose to be established in the heavens. Then again, as he investigates the first principles of the body he will observe whether it is composite or simple; then proceeding systematically he will observe its harmony and the influences that affect it and its capacity and, in a word, all that it needs to ensure its permanence. And in the next place he will also observe the first

[1] Cf. 188 B; Juvenal, *Satires* 11. 27; E caelo descendit *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*.

ἐνίων, ὑφ' ὧν βοηθεῖται πρὸς διαμονὴν τὸ σῶμα, οἷον ἰατρικῆς, γεωργίας, ἑτέρων τοιούτων. οὐ μὴν D
οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν τι παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσει, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα[1] πρὸς κολακείαν τοῦ παθητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινενόηται. προσλιπαρῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τούτοις ἀποκνήσει αἰσχρὸν οἰόμενος τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐργῶδες ἐν αὐτοῖς φεύγων· τὸ δ' ὅλον ὁποῖα ἄττα δοκεῖ καὶ οἱστισιν ἁρμόττει τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει. σκόπει δή, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστήμης, πάσης δὲ τέχνης ἡγεῖταί τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς καθόλου λόγους συνείληφε. τά τε γὰρ θεῖα διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης 184
ἡμῖν θείας μερίδος τά τε θνητὰ διὰ τῆς θνητοειδοῦς μοίρας πρὸς τούτοις †προσήκειν ἔφη τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων ζῷον εἰδέναι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον†,[2] τῷ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον θνητόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἀθάνατον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἕνα καὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου μερίδος.

Ὅτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τὴν ἐφικτὴν ἀνθρώποις γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων περιποιήσασθαι, πρόδηλον ἐντεῦθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον B
μακαρίζομεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ Ὅμηρός φησι

θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα ἴσασι,

καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Διὸς

Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγόνει καὶ πλείονα ᾔδει·

[1] ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.

[2] προσήκειν—ἄνθρωπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of Tyre 4. 7; ἔφη τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ζῷον εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον MSS.

principles of certain arts by which the body is assisted to that permanence, for instance, medicine, husbandry and the like. And of such arts as are useless and superfluous he will not be wholly ignorant, since these too have been devised to humour the emotional part of our souls. For though he will avoid the persistent study of these last, because he thinks such persistent study disgraceful, and will avoid what seems to involve hard work in those subjects; nevertheless he will not, generally speaking, remain in ignorance of their apparent nature and what parts of the soul they suit. Reflect therefore, whether self-knowledge does not control every science and every art, and moreover whether it does not include the knowledge of universals. For to know things divine through the divine part in us, and mortal things too through the part of us that is mortal—this the oracle declared to be the duty of the living organism that is midway between these, namely man; because individually he is mortal, but regarded as a whole he is immortal, and moreover, singly and individually, is compounded of a mortal and an immortal part.

Further, that to make oneself like God as far as possible is nothing else than to acquire such knowledge of the essential nature of things as is attainable by mankind, is evident from the following. It is not on the score of abundance of possessions that we count the divine nature happy, nor on the score of any other of those things that are commonly believed to be advantages, but it is because, as Homer says, "The gods know all things";[1] and indeed he says also of Zeus, "But Zeus was older and wiser."[2]

[1] *Odyssey* 4. 379. [2] *Iliad* 13. 355.

ἐπιστήμῃ γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρουσιν. ἡγεῖται C
γὰρ ἴσως καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὑτοὺς γινώ-
σκειν· ὅσῳ δὴ κρείττονες ἡμῶν εἰσι τὴν οὐσίαν,
τοσούτῳ γνόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἴσχουσι βελτιόνων γνῶ-
σιν. μηδεὶς οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ
διαιρείτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ
πολλὰς ἐκ μιᾶς ποιείτω. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μία,
οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία· θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδέν,
εἰ κατ᾽ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν πορευό-
μεθα. ἐπεὶ κἄν, εἴ τις θέλοι τῶν ξένων ἢ ναὶ μὰ D
Δία τῶν πάλαι πολιτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας,
δύναιτο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, ὁδεύων δὲ
οἶμαι διὰ γῆς ἢ ταῖς πλατείαις χρῆσθαι λεωφόροις
ἢ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμοις ὁδοῖς· καὶ πλεῖν
μέντοι δυνατὸν παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλούς, καὶ δὴ καὶ
κατὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα τέμνοντα πέλαγος μέσον.
μὴ δὲ τοῦτό τις ἡμῖν προφερέτω, εἴ τινες τῶν κατ᾽
αὐτὰς ἰόντων τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλ-
λαχοῦ που γενόμενοι, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Κίρκης ἢ 185
τῶν Λωτοφάγων ἡδονῆς ἢ δόξης ἤ τινος ἄλλου
δελεασθέντες, ἀπελείφθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν
καὶ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας δὲ
ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπείτω, καὶ πάντα
εὑρήσει σύμφωνα.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν
προαγορεύει, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ "ἐδιζησάμην ἐμεωυ-
τόν," ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας οἵ τε ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου
μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι
θεῷ φασι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς

For it is in knowledge that the gods surpass ourselves. And it may well be that with them also what ranks as noblest is self-knowledge. In proportion then as they are nobler than we in their essential nature, that self-knowledge of theirs is a knowledge of higher things. Therefore, I say, let no one divide philosophy into many kinds or cut it up into many parts, or rather let no one make it out to be plural instead of one. For even as truth is one, so too philosophy is one. But it is not surprising that we travel to it now by one road, now by another. For if any stranger, or, by Zeus, any one of her oldest inhabitants wished to go up to Athens, he could either sail or go by road, and if he travelled by land he could, I suppose, take either the broad highways or the paths and roads that are short cuts. And moreover he could either sail along the coasts or, like the old man of Pylos,[1] "cleave the open sea." And let no one try to refute me by pointing out that some philosophers in travelling by those very roads have been known to lose their way, and arriving in some other place have been captivated, as though by Circe or the Lotus-Eaters, that is to say by pleasure or opinion or some other bait, and so have failed to go straight forward and attain their goal. Rather he must consider those who in every one of the philosophic sects did attain the highest rank, and he will find that all their doctrines agree.

Therefore the god at Delphi proclaims, "Know Thyself," and Heracleitus says, "I searched myself";[2] and Pythagoras also and his school and his followers down to Theophrastus, bid us become like God as far as possible, yes and Aristotle too. For what

[1] Nestor; *Odyssey* 3. 174. [2] Heracleitus *fr.* 80.

ποτέ, τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ἀεί. γελοῖον οὖν ἂν εἴη τὸν θεὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ εἰδέναι· κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἴσεται τῶν ἄλλων, εἴπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοίη· πάντα γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν, εἴπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἴτε ἀθανάτων ἀθανάτους, εἴτε ἐπικήρων οὐ θνητὰς οὐδὲ ἐπικήρους, ἀιδίους δὲ καὶ μενούσας ἀεὶ καὶ αἳ τούτοις εἰσὶν αἰτίαι τῆς ἀειγενεσίας. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ C
λόγος ἐστὶ μείζων.

Ὅτι δὲ μία τέ ἐστιν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἐρασταὶ ξύμπαντες ὧν τε ὑπεμνήσθην μικρῷ πρότερον ὧν τε ἐν δίκῃ νῦν εἴποιμι ἂν τοὔνομα, τοὺς τοῦ Κιτιέως ὁμιλητὰς λέγω, οἳ τὰς πόλεις ἰδόντες ἀποδιδρασκούσας τὸ λίαν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ οἶμαι παραπετάσμασιν D
οἰκονομίᾳ καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνόδῳ καὶ παιδοτροφίᾳ, ἵν' οἶμαι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν ἐπιστήσωσι φύλακα· ὅτι δὲ τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν κεφάλαιον τίθενται φιλοσοφίας, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὧν κατεβάλλοντο ξυγγραμμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτου πεισθείης ἄν, εἴπερ ἐθέλοις,

we are sometimes, God is always.[1] It would therefore be absurd that God should not know himself. For he will know nothing at all about other things if he be ignorant of himself. For he is himself everything, seeing that in himself and near himself he keeps the causes of all things that in any way whatever have existence, whether they be immortal causes of things immortal, or causes of perishable things, though themselves not mortal or perishable; for imperishable and ever-abiding are the causes of perpetual generation for the perishable world. But this line of argument is too lofty for the occasion.

Now truth is one and philosophy is one, and they whom I just now spoke of are its lovers one and all; and also they whom I ought in fairness to mention now by name, I mean the disciples of the man of Citium.[2] For when they saw that the cities of Greece were averse to the excessive plainness and simplicity of the Cynic's freedom of manners, they hedged him about with screens as it were, I mean with maxims on the management of the household and business and intercourse with one's wife and the rearing of children, to the end, I believe, that they might make him the intimate guardian of the public welfare.[3] And that they too held the maxim "Know Thyself" to be the first principle of their philosophy you may believe, if you will, not only from the works that they composed on this very subject, but even more

[1] Cf. *Oration* 4. 143 A.

[2] Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, the founder of the Stoic school.

[3] Julian seems to mean that Zeno and the Stoics could not accept without modification the manner of life advocated by the Cynic Crates.

ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τέλους·
τὸ γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποιή- 186
σαντο, οὗπερ οὐχ οἷόν τε τυχεῖν τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα,
τίς καὶ ὁποῖος πέφυκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν ὅστις
ἐστίν, οὐκ εἴσεται δήπουθεν ὅ, τι πράττειν ἑαυτῷ
προσήκει, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὁ[1] τὸν σίδηρον ἀγνοῶν
εἴσεται, εἴτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἴτε μὴ προσήκει, καὶ
ὅτου δεῖ τῷ σιδήρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
πράττειν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μία τέ ἐστι καὶ
πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἑνός τινος ἐφιέμενοι ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ
τοῦτο διαφόροις ἦλθον, ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα νῦν εἰπεῖν. B
ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκεπτέον ἔτι.[2]

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεποίητο τοῖς ἀνδράσι μετά τινος
σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὰ συγγράμματα,
τούτοις ἐχρῆν ἑπόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἕκαστα ὧν
διανοούμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν
ἐναντίον καί, εἰ μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁμολο-
γοῦντα, μήτοι ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἡμῖν ἐπισκήπτειν,
εἰ δὲ μή, τότε ἐξορίζειν αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὥσπερ
Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ψευδῆ γράμματα τοῦ Μητρῴου.
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὡς ἔφην, τοιοῦτον· αἵ τε γὰρ C
θρυλούμεναι Διογένους τραγῳδίαι Φιλίσκου τινὸς
Αἰγινήτου λέγονται εἶναι, καί, εἰ Διογένους δὴ[3]
εἶεν, οὐδὲν ἄτοπόν ἐστι τὸν σοφὸν παίζειν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ τοῦτο πολλοὶ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

[1] οὐδ' ὁ Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ MSS.
[2] ἔτι Hertlein suggests, ἤδη Reiske, ἐστὶν MSS.
[3] δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

from what they made the end and aim of their philosophic teaching. For this end of theirs was life in harmony with nature, and this it is impossible for any man to attain who does not know who and of what nature he is. For a man who does not know himself will certainly not know what it is becoming for him to do; just as he who does not know the nature of iron will not know whether it is suitable to cut with or not, and how iron must be treated so that it may be put to its proper use. For the moment however I have said enough to show that philosophy is one, and that, to speak generally, all philosophers have a single aim though they arrive at that aim by different roads. And now let us consider the Cynic philosophy.

If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purpose and not merely with a frivolous aim, it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by these and to try in each case to refute the opinions that I hold on the subject; and then, if they proved to be in harmony with those original doctrines, he could not attack me for bearing false witness; but if they proved not to be in harmony, then he could have barred my opinions from a hearing, as the Athenians barred spurious documents from the Metroum.[1] But, as I said, nothing of that sort exists. For the much-talked-of tragedies of Diogenes are now said to be the work of a certain Philiscus[2] of Aegina; though even if they were by Diogenes there would be nothing out of the way in a wise man's jesting, since many philosophers have been known to do so. For

[1] Cf. *Oration* 5. 159 B.

[2] Cf. *Oration* 7. 210 D, 212 A.

ποιήσαντες· ἐγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁρῶν σπουδάζοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μὴ δὴ πρὸς τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπωμεν, ὥσπερ οἱ μανθάνειν τι σπουδαῖον ἥκιστα ἐρῶντες, πόλει D παραβάλλοντες εὐδαίμονι, πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πλήρει, καὶ μυρίων ἔνδον ἱερέων ἁγνῶν ἐν ἁγνοῖς μενόντων χωρίοις· αὐτοῦ δὲ ἕνεκα πολλάκις τούτου, λέγω δὲ τοῦ καθαρεύειν τὰ εἴσω πάντα, τὰ περιττὰ καὶ βδελυρὰ καὶ φαῦλα τῆς πόλεως ἀπεληλακόσι,[1] λουτρὰ δημόσια καὶ χαμαιτυπεῖα καὶ καπηλεῖα καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἄχρι τούτου γενόμενοι εἴσω μὴ παρίασιν.[2] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐντυχών, εἶτα τοῦτο οἰηθεὶς εἶναι τὴν 187
πόλιν ἄθλιος μὲν ἀποφυγών, ἀθλιώτερος δὲ κάτω μείνας, ἐξὸν ὑπερβάντα μικρὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη· χρήσομαι γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἐγὼ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπαινῶν Σωκράτη. φημὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοιοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς Σειληνοῖς τούτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἑρμογλυφείοις καθημένοις, οὕστινας ἐργάζονται οἱ δημιουργοὶ σύριγγας ἢ αὐλοὺς ἔχοντας· οἳ διχάδε[3] διοιχθέντες B
ἔνδον φαίνονται ἀγάλματα ἔχοντες θεῶν. ὡς ἂν οὖν μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθωμεν, ὅσα ἔπαιξε ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἐσπουδακέναι νομίσαντες· ἔστι μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὁ Κυνισμὸς δέ ἐστιν

[1] ἀπεληλακόσι Naber, ἀπεληλάκασι Hertlein, MSS.
[2] παρίασιν Cobet, παριᾶσιν Hertlein, MSS.
[3] οἳ διχάδε Hertlein suggests, cf. *Symposium* 215, οἱ δὲ MSS.

Democritus also, we are told, used to laugh when he saw men taking things seriously. Well then I say we must not pay any attention to their frivolous writings, like men who have no desire at all to learn anything of serious interest. Such men when they arrive at a prosperous city abounding in sacrifices and secret rites of many kinds, and containing within it countless holy priests who dwell in the sacred enclosures, priests who for this very purpose, I mean in order to purify everything that is within their gates, have expelled all that is sordid and superfluous and vicious from the city, public baths and brothels, and retail shops, and everything of the sort without exception: such men, I say, having come as far as the quarter where all such things are, do not enter the city itself. Surely a man who, when he comes upon the things that have been expelled, thinks that this is the city, is despicable indeed if he depart on the instant, but still more despicable if he stay in that lower region, when he might by taking but a step across the threshold behold Socrates himself. For I will borrow those famous phrases of Alcibiades in his praise of Socrates,[1] and I assert that the Cynic philosophy is very like those images of Silenus that sit in the shops of the statuaries, which the craftsmen make with pipes or flutes in their hands, but when you open them you see that inside they contain statues of the gods. Accordingly, that we may not make that sort of mistake and think that his jesting was sober earnest (for though there is a certain use even in those jests, yet Cynicism itself is something very different, as I

[1] Plato, *Symposium* 215.

ἕτερον, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα δεῖξαι πειράσομαι· δεῦρο ἴδωμεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐξιχνεύουσαι κύνες μεταθέουσι τὰ θηρία.

Ἡγεμόνα μὲν οὖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὑρεῖν, ἐφ' ὃν ἀνενέγκαι χρὴ πρῶτον αὐτό, εἰ καί τινες ὑπο- C
λαμβάνουσιν Ἀντισθένει τοῦτο καὶ Διογένει προσήκειν. τοῦτο γοῦν ἔοικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λέγειν· ὁ Κυνισμὸς οὔτε Ἀντισθενισμός ἐστιν οὔτε Διογενισμός. λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς, ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν[1] αἴτιος κατέστη, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ βίου παράδειγμα τὸ μέγιστον[2] κατέλιπεν ἀνθρώποις. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λῆξιν πορευ- D
θέντων εὐφημεῖν ἐθέλων πείθομαι μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου τινὰς οὐκ ἐν Ἕλλησι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις οὕτω φιλοσοφῆσαι·[3] αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φιλοσοφία κοινή πως ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ φυσικωτάτη καὶ δεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἡστινοσοῦν πραγματείας· ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἑλέσθαι τὰ σπουδαῖα ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ φυγῇ κακίας, καὶ οὔτε βίβλους ἀνελίξαι δεῖ μυρίας· πολυμαθία γάρ, φασί, νόον οὐ διδάσκει· οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων παθεῖν, ὅσα καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ἰόντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον δύο ταῦτα τοῦ Πυθίου 188

[1] Before αἴτιος Cobet omits τις.
[2] Before κατέλιπεν Cobet omits οὗτος.
[3] οὕτω φιλοσοφῆσαι Reiske suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

shall presently try to prove), let us consider it in due course from its actual practice and pursue it like hounds that track down wild beasts in the chase.

Now the founder of this philosophy to whom we are to attribute it, in the first instance, is not easy to discover, even though some think that the title belongs to Antisthenes and Diogenes. At least the saying of Oenomaus [1] seems to be not without good grounds: "The Cynic philosophy is neither Antisthenism nor Diogenism." Moreover the better sort of Cynics assert that in addition to the other blessings bestowed on us by mighty Heracles, it was he who bequeathed to mankind the noblest example of this mode of life.[2] But for my part, while I desire to speak with due reverence of the gods and of those who have attained to their functions, I still believe that even before Heracles, not only among the Greeks but among the barbarians also, there were men who practised this philosophy. For it seems to be in some ways a universal philosophy, and the most natural, and to demand no special study whatsoever. But it is enough simply to choose the honourable by desiring virtue and avoiding evil; and so there is no need to turn over countless books. For as the saying goes, "Much learning does not teach men to have understanding." [3] Nor is it necessary to subject oneself to any part of such a discipline as they must undergo who enter other philosophic sects. Nay it is enough merely to hearken to the Pythian god when he enjoins these

[1] Of Gadara, a Cynic philosopher whose date is probably the second century A.D.; cf. 199 A, 209 B, 210 D, 212 A.

[2] Lucian, *Sale of Creeds* 8, makes Diogenes say that he had modelled himself on Heracles.

[3] Heracleitus *fr.* 16, Bywater.

παραινοῦντος ἀκοῦσαι, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν καὶ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα· πέφηνεν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχηγὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὅσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἁπάντων αἴτιος, ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινὸς ἡγεμὼν καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, ὃν ἐπειδὴ μὴ θέμις ἦν τι διαλαθεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡ Διογένους ἐπιτηδειότης ἔλαθε. προύτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεσιν ἐντείνων τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ B διδάσκων ὅ,τι βούλεται συμβολικῶς διὰ δυοῖν ὀνομάτοιν, Παραχάραξον εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ γάρ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐκείνῳ μόνον,[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔφη καὶ λέγει, πρόκειται γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ τεμένους. ηὑρήκαμεν δὴ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὥς που καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιός φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῇ, Ἀντισθένη καὶ Διογένη καὶ Κράτητα, οἷς τοῦ βίου σκοπὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτοὺς οἶμαι γνῶναι καὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπεριδεῖν δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δέ, ἣ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἡγεῖται, ὅλῃ, φασίν, ἐπιδράξασθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, C ἧς οἶμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωκράτης οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἕνεκα πάντα ὑπέμειναν πόνον, αὐτούς τε ἐθέλοντες γνῶναι καὶ μὴ κεναῖς ἔπεσθαι δόξαις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀνιχνεῦσαι.

[1] *μόνον* Hertlein suggests, *πρῶτον* MSS.

two precepts, "Know Thyself," and "Falsify the common currency." [1] Hence it becomes evident to us that the founder of this philosophy is he who, I believe, is the cause of all the blessings that the Greeks enjoy, the universal leader, law-giver and king of Hellas, I mean the god of Delphi.[2] And since it was not permitted that he should be in ignorance of aught, the peculiar fitness of Diogenes did not escape his notice. And he made him incline to that philosophy, not by urging his commands in words alone, as he does for other men, but in very deed he instructed him symbolically as to what he willed, in two words, when he said, "Falsify the common currency." For "Know Thyself" he addressed not only to Diogenes, but to other men also and still does: for it stands there engraved in front of his shrine. And so we have at last discovered the founder of this philosophy, even as the divine Iamblichus also declares, yes, and we have discovered its leading men as well, namely Antisthenes and Diogenes and Crates; [3] the aim and end of whose lives was, I think, to know themselves, to despise vain opinions, and to lay hold of truth with their whole understanding; for truth, alike for gods and men, is the beginning of every good thing; [4] and it was, I think, for her sake that Plato and Pythagoras and Socrates and the Peripatetic philosophers and Zeno spared no pains, because they wished to know themselves, and not to follow vain opinions but to track down truth among all things that are.

[1] Cf. *Oration* 7. 208 D, 211 B, 211 C. [2] Apollo.

[3] Of Thebes, the Cynic philosopher, a pupil of Diogenes; he lived in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

[4] Plato, *Laws* 730 B.

Φέρε οὖν, ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσας Πλάτων, ἕτερον δὲ Διογένης, ἓν δέ τι καὶ ταὐτόν· εἰ γοῦν ἔροιτό τις τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα "τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν πόσου νενόμικας ἄξιον;" εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς ἂν φήσειε, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ· D δεῦρο δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο φράσον ἡμῖν, ὦ δαιμόνιε Πλάτων καὶ θεῶν ἔκγονε "Τίνα τρόπον χρὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακεῖσθαι δόξας," ταὐτά τε ἐρεῖ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὅλον ἡμῖν ἐπιτάξει διαρρήδην ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Κρίτωνα διάλογον, οὗ φαίνεται παραινῶν Σωκράτης μηδὲν φροντίζειν ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων· φησὶ γοῦν· "Ἀλλὰ τί ἡμῖν, ὦ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189 μέλει;" εἶτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτειχίζειν ἁπλῶς οὑτωσὶ καὶ ἀποσπᾶν ἄνδρας ἀλλήλων ἐθέλομεν, οὓς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγαγεν ἔρως ἢ τε τῆς δόξης ὑπεροψία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ζῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ξύμπνοια; εἰ δὲ Πλάτωνι μὲν ἔδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, Διογένει δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιός ἐστιν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀκούειν κακῶς; ὅρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων ἐξομνύμενος φαίνεται τὰ ξυγγράμματα. "Οὐ γάρ B ἐστι Πλάτωνος," φησί, "ζύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἔσται, τὰ δὲ νῦν φερόμενά ἐστι Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς

And now, since it has become evident that Plato was not pursuing one aim and Diogenes another, but their end was one and the same: suppose one should inquire of the wise Plato: What value do you set on the precept "Know Thyself"? I am very sure that he would answer that it is worth everything, and indeed he says so in the Alcibiades.[1] Come then tell us next, divine Plato, scion of the gods, how one ought to be disposed towards the opinions of the many? He will give the same answer, and moreover he will expressly enjoin on us to read his dialogue the Crito,[2] where Socrates is shown warning us not to take heed of such things. At any rate what he says is: "But why, my dear good Crito, are we so concerned about the opinion of the multitude?" And now are we to ignore all this evidence, and without further question fence off from one another and force apart men whom the passion for truth, the scorn of opinion, and unanimity in zeal for virtue have joined together? And if Plato chose to achieve his aim through words, whereas for Diogenes deeds sufficed, does the latter on that account deserve to be criticised by you? Nay, consider whether that same method of his be not in every respect superior; since we see that Plato for himself forswore written compositions. "For" he says,[3] "there are no writings by Plato nor ever will be, and what now pass current as his are the work of Socrates, the ever fair and

[1] *Alcibiades* i. 129 A. [2] *Crito* 44 C.

[3] *Epistle* 2. 314 C; Julian quotes from memory and slightly alters the original; Plato meant that in his dialogues he had suppressed his own personality in favour of Socrates.

καλοῦ καὶ νέου." τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Διογένους σκοποῦμεν αὐτὸν τὸν Κυνισμόν, ὅστις ἐστιν;

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ σώματος μέρη μέν ἐστιν, οἷον ὀφθαλμοί, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπισυμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνυχες, ῥύπος, τοιούτων περιττωμάτων γένος, ὧν ἄνευ σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀμήχανον εἶναι, πότερον οὐ γελοῖός ἐστιν ὁ μέρη C
νομίσας ὄνυχας ἢ τρίχας ἢ ῥύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη τῶν περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ σπουδαῖα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητήρια καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἅττα συνέσεως ἡμῖν ἐστι μᾶλλον αἴτια, οἷον ὀφθαλμούς, ἀκοάς; ὑπουργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς φρόνησιν εἴτε ἐγκατορωρυγμένῃ τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς ἂν θᾶττον καθαρθεῖσα δύναιτο τῇ καθαρᾷ χρῆσθαι[1] καὶ ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἴτε, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, καθάπερ δι' ὀχετῶν τοιούτων εἰσφερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς. συλλέγουσα γάρ, φασί, D
τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ μνήμῃ γενναῖα τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μή τι τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐνθέου ἢ τέλειον ἐμποδιζόμενον δὲ[2] ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὃ τῶν ἐκτὸς ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίληψιν, οὐδ' ἂν δυνατὸν οἶμαι γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὴν[3] ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς νῦν προσήκει.

Διόπερ ἐπανακτέον ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας 190
τῆς κυνικῆς. φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι διμερῆ

[1] τῇ καθαρᾷ χρῆσθαι Hertlein suggests, τῇ γε ὡς ἀρχῇ MSS., corrupt.
[2] δὲ Hertlein suggests. [3] τὴν Naber suggests.

ever young." Why then should we not from the practice of Diogenes study the character of the Cynic philosophy?

Now the body consists of certain parts such as eyes, feet and hands, but there are besides other parts, hair, nails, ordure, a whole class of accessories of that sort without which the human body cannot exist. Then is it not absurd for a man to take into account such parts, I mean hair or nails or ordure or such unpleasant accessories, rather than those parts that are most precious and important, in the first place, for instance, the organs of perception, and among these more especially the instruments whereby we apprehend, namely the eyes and ears? For these aid the soul to think intelligently, whether it be buried deep in the body and they enable it to purify itself more readily and to use its pure and steadfast faculty of thought, or whether, as some think, it is through them that the soul enters in as though by channels.[1] For, as we are told, by collecting individual perceptions and linking them through the memory she brings forth the sciences. And for my own part, I think that if there were not something of this sort, either incomplete in itself or perfect but hindered by other things many and various, which brings about our apprehension of externals, it would not even be possible for us to apprehend the objects of sense-perception. But this line of argument has little to do with the present question.

Accordingly we must go back to the divisions of the Cynic philosophy. For the Cynics also seem to

[1] Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 3. 359 foll.; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 7. 350.

τὴν φιλοσοφίαν νομίσαντες ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, θεωρηματικήν τε καὶ πρακτικήν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο[1] συνέντες δηλονότι καὶ νοήσαντες, ὡς οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος φύσει πράξει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ. εἰ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς τὴν θεωρίαν[2] ἐξέκλιναν, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι θεωρίᾳ μὲν φαίνονται χρησάμενοι πολλῇ, ταύτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πράξεως· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι τοῦτο ἐνόμισαν, τὸ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τί B
μὲν ἀποδοτέον ψυχῇ, τί δὲ σώματι· ἀπέδοσαν δὲ[3] εἰκότως ἡγεμονίαν μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὑπηρεσίαν δὲ τῷ σώματι. φαίνονται δὴ οὖν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἐγκράτειαν, ἀτυφίαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἔξω γενόμενοι παντὸς φθόνου, δειλίας, δεισιδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διανοούμεθα, παίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ κυβεύειν περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὕτως ὑπεριδόντας τοῦ σώματος, C
ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη λέγων ὀρθῶς μελέτην εἶναι θανάτου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύοντες οὐ ζηλωτοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν, ἄθλιοι δέ τινες καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόητοι δοκοῦσιν·[4] ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ[5] τοὺς πόνους ὑπέμειναν τούτους;[6] οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπας, κενοδοξίας ἕνεκα. καὶ γὰρ[7] πῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπῃνοῦντο ὠμὰ

[1] αὐτὸ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.
[2] τὴν θεωρίαν Hertlein suggests, πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν MSS., θεωρίας Petavius.
[3] δὲ after ἀπέδοσαν Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.
[4] δοκοῦσιν· Hertlein suggests, δοκοῦσιν, MSS.
[5] δὲ Hertlein suggests, δὴ MSS.
[6] τούτους; οὐχ ὡς Hertlein suggests, τούτους, ὡς MSS.
[7] καὶ γὰρ Hertlein suggests, καίτοι MSS.

have thought that there were two branches of philosophy, as did Aristotle and Plato, namely speculative and practical, evidently because they had observed and understood that man is by nature suited both to action and to the pursuit of knowledge. And though they avoided the study of natural philosophy, that does not affect the argument. For Socrates and many others also, as we know, devoted themselves to speculation, but it was solely for practical ends. For they thought that even self-knowledge meant learning precisely what must be assigned to the soul, and what to the body. And to the soul they naturally assigned supremacy, and to the body subjection. This seems to be the reason why they practised virtue, self-control, modesty and freedom, and why they shunned all forms of envy, cowardice and superstition. But this, you will say, is not the view that we hold about them, for we are to think that they were not in earnest, and that they hazarded what is most precious[1] in thus despising the body; as Socrates did when he declared, and rightly, that philosophy is a preparation for death.[2] And since this was the aim that the Cynics pursued daily, we need not emulate them any more than the others, but we are to think them miserable beings and altogether foolish. But why was it that they endured those hardships? Surely not from ostentation, as you declared. For how could they win

[1] Plato, *Protagoras* 314 A. [2] *Phaedo* 81 A.

προσφερόμενοι σαρκία; καίτοι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπαι-
νέτης εἶ. τοῦ γοῦν τοιούτου τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν D
κόμην, ὥσπερ αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπομιμού-
μενος εἶθ' ὃ μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιάγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις,
τοῦτο εὐδοκιμεῖν οἴει παρὰ τῷ πλήθει; καὶ εἷς
μὲν ἢ δεύτερος ἐπῄνει τότε, πλεῖν δ' οὖν ἢ δέκα
μυριάδες ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτίας καὶ βδελυρίας διεστρά-
φησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπόσιτοι γεγόνασιν,
ἄχρις αὐτοὺς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὀσμαῖς καὶ
μύροις καὶ πέμμασιν. οὕτως ὁ κλεινὸς ἥρως ἔργῳ 191
κατεπλήξατο γελοίῳ μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις,

Οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν,

οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ δέ, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ
τὴν Διογένους ἐξηγήσαιτο σύνεσιν. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ
Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὅτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζων
λατρείαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τὸν δοθέντα χρησμὸν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἐξετάζειν τὸν
ἐλεγκτικὸν ἠσπάσατο βίον, τοῦτο καὶ Διογένης
οἶμαι συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ, πυθόχρηστον οὖσαν τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν, ἔργοις ᾤετο δεῖν ἐξελέγχειν πάντα
καὶ μὴ δόξαις ἄλλων, τυχὸν μὲν ἀληθέσι, τυχὸν
δὲ ψευδέσι προσπεπονθέναι. οὔκουν οὐδὲ εἴ τι
Πυθαγόρας ἔφη, οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ
παραπλήσιος, ἀξιόπιστος ἐδόκει τῷ Διογένει.
τὸν γὰρ θεόν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ[1] οὐδένα τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀρχηγὸν ἐπεποίητο. τί δῆτα τοῦτο, C
ἐρεῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδήν; ἐγώ σοι
φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὑπολαμ-
βάνουσι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἥκιστα τοῦτο ἐργάζε-

[1] δὲ after ἀνθρώπων Hertlein suggests.

applause from other men by eating raw meat? Certainly you yourself do not applaud them for this. At any rate, when you imitate one of those Cynics by carrying a staff and wearing your hair long, as it is shown in their pictures, do you think that you thereby gain a reputation with the crowd, though you do not yourself think those habits worthy of admiration? One or two, indeed, used to applaud him in his own day, but more than ten times ten thousand had their stomachs turned by nausea and loathing, and went fasting until their attendants revived them with perfumes and myrrh and cakes. So greatly did that renowned hero shock them by an act which seems absurd to men "of such sort as mortals now are," [1] though, by the gods, it was not ignoble, if one should explain it according to the intention of Diogenes. For just as Socrates said of himself that he embraced the life of cross-examining because he believed that he could perform his service to the god only by examining in all its bearings the meaning of the oracle that had been uttered concerning him, so I think Diogenes also, because he was convinced that philosophy was ordained by the Pythian oracle, believed that he ought to test everything by facts and not be influenced by the opinions of others, which may be true and may be false. Accordingly Diogenes did not think that every statement of Pythagoras, or any man like Pythagoras, was necessarily true. For he held that God and no human being is the founder of philosophy. And pray what, you will say, has this to do with the eating of octopus? I will tell you.

To eat meat some regard as natural to man, while others think that to follow this practice is not at all

[1] *Iliad* 5. 304.

σθαι προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τούτου ἀνάλωται[1] λόγος. ἐθέλοντι οὖν σοι μὴ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἐσμοὶ περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου βίβλων φανήσονται. τούτους Διογένης ἐξελέγχειν ᾤετο δεῖν. διενοήθη γοῦν οὕτως· εἰ μὲν ἀπραγματεύτως ἐσθίων τις σάρκας, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον θηρίων, οἷς τοῦτο ἔνειμεν ἡ φύσις, D ἀβλαβῶς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὠφελείας ἐργάζοιτο, κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι πάντως τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν ὑπέλαβεν· εἰ δέ τις ἐντεῦθεν γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἔργον ἴσως ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφεκτέον εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἴσως βιαιότερος λόγος, ἕτερος δὲ οἰκειότερος τῷ Κυνισμῷ, εἰ περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι σαφέστερον διέλθοιμι.

Ἀπάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· τοῦτο δὲ 192
ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ θεὸν γενέσθαι. αἰσθανόμενος οὖν ἴσως αὐτοῦ Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπαθοῦς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐδωδῆς μόνον θραττομένου καὶ ναυτιῶντος καὶ δόξῃ κενῇ μᾶλλον[2] ἢ λόγῳ δεδουλωμένου· σάρκες γάρ εἰσιν οὐδὲν ἧττον, κἂν μυριάκις αὐτὰς ἑψήσῃ, κἂν ὑποτρίμμασι μυρίοις τις αὐτὰς καρυκεύσῃ· καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστῆσαι παντάπασιν ἐξάντη τῆς δειλίας ᾠήθη χρῆναι. δειλία γάρ ἐστιν, B εὖ ἴσθι, τὸ γοῦν τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῆς Θεσμοφόρου εἰ σαρκῶν ἡψημένων ἁπτόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

[1] ἀνάλωται Hertlein suggests, δείκνυται MSS.
[2] μᾶλλον Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

appropriate for man, and this question has been much debated. And if you are willing to make the effort, you can see with your own eyes swarms of books on the subject. These Diogenes thought it his duty to refute. At any rate his own view was as follows. If one can eat meat without taking too much trouble to prepare it, as can all other animals to whom nature has assigned this diet, and can do it without harm or discomfort; or rather with actual benefit to the body, then he thought that eating meat is entirely in accordance with nature. But if harm came of it, then he apparently thought that the practice is not appropriate for man, and that he must abstain from it by all means. Here then you have a theory on this question, though perhaps it is too far-fetched : but here is another more akin to Cynicism, only I must first describe more clearly the end and aim of that philosophy.

Freedom from emotion they regard as the end and aim ; and this is equivalent to becoming a god. Now perhaps Diogenes observed that in the case of all other foods he himself had no particular sensations, and that only raw meat gave him indigestion and nausea, and took this for a proof that he was enslaved to vain opinion rather than reason ; for flesh is none the less flesh, even though you cook it any number of times or season it with any number of sauces. This, I say, was why he thought he ought to rid and free himself altogether of this cowardice ; for you may be sure that this sort of thing is cowardice. And in the name of the Law-Giving goddess,[1] tell me why if we used cooked meats we do

[1] Demeter, who regulated the customs of civilised life, especially agriculture : her festival was the Thesmophoria.

οὐχὶ καὶ ἁπλῶς αὐτὰς προσφερόμεθα, φράσον ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ἕτερον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι οὕτω νενόμισται καὶ οὕτω συνειθίσμεθα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν μὲν ἐψηθῆναι βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐψηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀγνότερα. τί δῆτα ἐχρῆν πράττειν τόν γε C παρὰ θεοῦ ταχθέντα καθάπερ στρατηγοῦ πᾶν μὲν ἐξελεῖν τὸ νόμισμα, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ κρῖναι τὰ πράγματα; περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἐνοχλούμενον, ὡς νομίζειν ὅτι κρέας μέν ἐστιν ἐψηθὲν ἁγνὸν καὶ ἐδώδιμον, μὴ κατεργασθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρόν πως[1] καὶ βδελυρόν; οὕτως εἶ μνήμων; οὕτως εἶ σπουδαῖος; ὃς τοσοῦτον ὀνειδίζων τῷ κενοδόξῳ, κατὰ σὲ φάναι, Διογένει, D κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ τῷ σπουδαιοτάτῳ θεράποντι καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδὴν κατεδήδοκας μυρίους ταρίχους,

Ἰχθῦς ὄρνιθάς τε φίλας θ' ὅτι χεῖρας ἵκοιτο,

Αἰγύπτιός γε ὤν, οὐ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παμφάγων, οἷς πάντα ἐσθίειν νόμος ὡς λάχανα χόρτου· γνωρίζεις οἶμαι τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰ ῥήματα. 193
μικροῦ με παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι πλησίον οἰκοῦντες θαλάττης, ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὐδὲ θερμήναντες καταρροφοῦσιν ἐχίνους, ὄστρεα καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἐκείνους μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ζηλωτούς, ἄθλιον δὲ καὶ βδελυρὸν ἡγῇ Διογένη, καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ σαρκία· πλὴν

[1] πως Hertlein suggests, ἴσως MSS.

not eat them in their natural state also? You can give me no other answer than that this has become a custom and a habit with us. For surely we cannot say that before meat is cooked it is disgusting and that by being cooked it becomes purer than it was by nature. What then was it right for him to do who had been appointed by God like a general in command to do away with the common currency and to judge all questions by the criterion of reason and truth? Ought he to have shut his eyes and been so far fettered by this general opinion as to believe that flesh by being cooked becomes pure and fit for food, but that when it has not been acted upon by fire it is somehow abominable and loathsome? Is this the sort of memory you have? Is this your zeal for truth? For though you so severely criticised Diogenes the vain-glorious, as you call him—though I call him the most zealous servant and vassal of the Pythian god—for eating octopus, you yourself have devoured endless pickled food, "Fish and birds and whatever else might come to hand."[1] For you are an Egyptian, though not of the priestly caste, but of the omnivorous type whose habit it is to eat everything "even as the green herb."[2] You recognise, I suppose, the words of the Galilaeans. I almost omitted to say that all men who live near the sea, and even some who live at a distance from it, swallow down sea-urchins, oysters and in general everything of the kind without even heating them. And then you think they are enviable, whereas you regard Diogenes as contemptible and disgusting, and you do not perceive that those shell-fish are flesh just as much as what he ate? Except perhaps that

[1] *Odyssey* 12. 331. [2] *Genesis* 9. 3.

ἴσως ταῦτα ἐκείνων διαφέρει τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι μαλθακά, τὰ δὲ σκληρότερα. ἄναιμος γοῦν ἐστι καὶ πολύπους ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα, ἔμψυχα δέ B ἐστι καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα καθάπερ καὶ οὗτος· ἥδεται γοῦν καὶ λυπεῖται, ὃ τῶν ἐμψύχων μάλιστά ἐστιν ἴδιον. ἐνοχλείτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἡ Πλατωνικὴ τανῦν δόξα ἔμψυχα ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τὰ φυτά. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὔτι ἄλογον[1] οὐδὲ παράνομον οὐδὲ ἀσύνηθες ὑμῖν ὁ γενναῖος εἰργάσατο Διογένης, εἰ μὴ τῷ σκληροτέρῳ καὶ μαλακωτέρῳ, ἡδονῇ τε λαιμοῦ καὶ ἀηδίᾳ τὰ τοιαῦτά τις ἐξετάζοι, πρόδηλον οἶμαι τοῖς ὀπωσοῦν ἕπεσθαι λόγῳ δυναμένοις. οὐκ ἄρα τὴν ὠμοφαγίαν βδελύττεσθε οἱ τὰ παραπλήσια δρῶντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ C τῶν ἀναίμων μόνον ζῴων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἷμα ἐχόντων. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἴσως διαφέρεσθε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἁπλῶς ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ᾠήθη χρῆναι προσφέρεσθαι, ἁλσὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρτύσαντες ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα, τὴν φύσιν ὅπως βιάσησθε. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη.

Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸς μέν ἐστι D καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ πάσης φιλοσοφίας, τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐν τῷ ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνει καὶ μέντοι καὶ ζῴοις πᾶσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστον ἀνεμποδίστως τυγχάνῃ τέλους· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς τοῦτό ἐστιν εὐδαιμονίας ὅρος, τὸ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ πεφύκασι καὶ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι. οὐκοῦν 194

[1] *οὔτι ἄλογον* Hertlein suggests, *οὐ χαλεπὸν* MSS.

they differ in so far as the octopus is soft and shellfish are harder. At any rate the octopus is bloodless, like hard-shelled fish, but the latter too are animate things like the octopus. At least they feel pleasure and pain, which is the peculiar characteristic of animate things. And here we must not be put out by Plato's theory[1] that plants also are animated by soul. But it is now, I think, evident to those who are in any way able to follow an argument, that what the excellent Diogenes did was not out of the way or irregular or contrary to our habits, that is if we do not in such cases apply the criterion of hardness and softness, but judge rather by the pleasure or distaste of the palate. And so it is not after all the eating of raw food that disgusts you, since you do the like, not only in the case of bloodless animals but also of those that have blood. But perhaps there is also this difference between you and Diogenes, that he thought he ought to eat such food just as it was and in the natural state, whereas you think you must first prepare it with salt and many other things to make it agreeable and so do violence to nature. I have now said enough on this subject.

Now the end and aim of the Cynic philosophy, as indeed of every philosophy, is happiness, but happiness that consists in living according to nature and not according to the opinions of the multitude. For plants too are considered to do well, and indeed all animals also, when without hindrance each attains the end designed for it by nature. Nay, even among the gods this is the definition of happiness, that their state should be according to their nature, and that they should be independent. And

[1] *Timaeus* 77 B.

καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ἑτέρωθί που τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσήκει πολυπραγμονεῖν· οὐδὲ ἀετὸς οὐδὲ πλάτανος οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ζῴων ἢ φυτῶν χρυσᾶ περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ φύλλα, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀργυροῦς ἕξει τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἢ τὰ πλῆκτρα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδαμάντινα, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ φύσις ἐκόσμησε, ταῦτα εἰ ῥωμαλέα καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένοιτο, μάλιστα ἂν εὖ πράττειν νομίζοι καὶ εὐθηνεῖσθαι. B πῶς οὖν οὐ γελοῖον, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος γεγονὼς ἔξω που τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσαιτο, πλοῦτον καὶ γένος καὶ φίλων δύναμιν καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ παντὸς ἄξια νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις ὥσπερ τοῖς ζῴοις αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἐκείνοις παραπλησίας, ὥστε μηδὲν πλέον πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἤρκει λοιπόν, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα, C τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀρκεῖσθαι πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἐνταῦθά που τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδέν τι παραπλησία ψυχὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέσπαρται ζῴοις, ἀλλ' εἴτε κατ' οὐσίαν διαφέρουσα εἴτε οὐσίᾳ μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ μόνῃ κρείττων, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρὸν ἤδη χρυσίον τοῦ συμπεφυρμένου τῇ ψάμμῳ· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθὴς ὑπό τινων· ἡμεῖς δὴ οὖν ἐπειδὴ σύνισμεν αὐτοῖς D οὖσι τῶν ζῴων ξυνετωτέροις· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πρωταγόρου μῦθον ἐκείνοις μὲν ἡ φύσις ὥσπερ μήτηρ

so too in the case of human beings we must not be busy about happiness as if it were hidden away outside ourselves. Neither the eagle nor the plane tree nor anything else that has life, whether plant or animal, vainly troubles itself about wings or leaves of gold or that its shoots may be of silver or its stings and spurs of iron, or rather of adamant; but where nature in the beginning has adorned them with such things, they consider that, if only they are strong and serviceable for speed or defence, they themselves are fortunate and well provided. Then is it not absurd when a human being tries to find happiness somewhere outside himself, and thinks that wealth and birth and the influence of friends, and generally speaking everything of that sort is of the utmost importance? If however nature had bestowed on us only what she has bestowed on other animals, I mean the possession of bodies and souls like theirs, so that we need concern ourselves with nothing beyond, then it would suffice for us, as for all other animals, to content ourselves with physical advantages, and to pursue happiness within this field. But in us has been implanted a soul that in no way resembles other animals; and whether it be different in essence, or not different in essence but superior in its activity only, just as, I suppose, pure gold is superior to gold alloyed with sand,—for some people hold this theory to be true of the soul,—at any rate we surely know that we are more intelligent than other animals. For according to the myth in the Protagoras,[1] nature dealt with them very gener-

[1] Plato, *Protagoras* 321 A, B; Plato however says that the theft of fire by Prometheus saved mankind, and that later Zeus bestowed on them the political art.

ἄγαν φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοδώρως προσηνέχθη, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκ Διὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐδόθη· τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέον, ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ σπουδαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Σκόπει δή, ταύτης εἰ μὴ μάλιστα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἦν Διογένης, ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἀνέδην παρεῖχεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως ῥωμαλεώτερον καταστήσῃ, πράττειν δὲ ἠξίου μόνον ὁπόσα 195
ἂν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους, οἷα πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τουτὶ τὸ περικείμενον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν μέρει προσίετο. ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἀνὴρ
οὕτω μὲν ἔσχεν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὐδεὶς οἶμαι B
τῶν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὕτω δὲ διετέθη τὴν ψυχήν, ὥστε εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὥστε βασιλεύειν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἱ τότε εἰώθεσαν λέγειν Ἕλληνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τὸν Πέρσην λέγοντες. ἆρά σοι μικρὰ φαίνεται ἀνὴρ

Ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
οὐκ ὀβολόν, οὐ δραχμήν, ἔχων [1] οὐδ' οἰκέτην,

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μᾶζαν, ἧς Ἐπίκουρος εὐπορῶν οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φησιν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἐρίζων, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ C
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονεστάτου εὐδαιμονέστερον ζῶν καὶ ἔλεγε ζῆν εὐδαιμονέστερον. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

[1] ἔχων οὐδ' οἰκέτην Kaibel, οὐκ οἰκέτην ἔχων Hertlein, MSS.; Hertlein prints the second verse as prose.

ously and bountifully, like a mother, but to compensate for all this, mind was bestowed on us by Zeus. Therefore in our minds, in the best and noblest part of us, we must say that happiness resides.

Now consider whether Diogenes did not above all other men profess this belief, since he freely exposed his body to hardships so that he might make it stronger than it was by nature. He allowed himself to act only as the light of reason shows us that we ought to act; and the perturbations that attack the soul and are derived from the body, to which this envelope of ours often constrains us for its sake to pay too much attention, he did not take into account at all. Thus by means of this discipline the man made his body more vigorous, I believe, than that of any who have contended for the prize of a crown in the games: and his soul was so disposed that he was happy and a king no less if not even more than the Great King, as the Greeks used to call him in those days, by which they meant the king of Persia. Then does he seem to you of no importance, this man who was "cityless, homeless, a man without a country, owning not an obol, not a drachma, not a single slave,"[1] nay, not even a loaf of bread—and Epicurus says that if he have bread enough and to spare he is not inferior to the gods on the score of happiness. Not that Diogenes tried to rival the gods, but he lived more happily than one who is counted the happiest of men, and he used actually to assert that he lived more happily than such a man. And if you

[1] Cf. *Letter to Themistius* 256 D; Nauck, *Adespota Fragmenta* 6; Diogenes Laertius, 6. 38, says that this was a favourite quotation of Diogenes; its source is unknown.

ἔργῳ πειραθεὶς ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐ τῷ λόγῳ αἰσθήσῃ.

Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξωμεν. ἆρά σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώποις ἡγεῖσθαι, τούτων δὴ τῶν πολυθρυλήτων, ἐλευθερίαν; πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ D χρήματα καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ γένος καὶ σώματος ἰσχὺς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δίχα τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ηὐτυχηκέναι, τοῦ κτησαμένου δὲ αὐτόν ἐστιν ἀγαθά; τίνα οὖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸν δοῦλον; ἆρα μή ποτε ἐκεῖνον, ὃν ἂν πριώμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου τόσων ἢ μναῖν δυοῖν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα; ἐρεῖς δήπουθεν τοῦτον εἶναι ἀληθῶς δοῦλον. ἆρα δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι τὸ ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ πωλοῦντι καταβεβλήκαμεν; οὕτω μεντἂν εἶεν οἰκέται καὶ ὁπό- 196
σους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λυτρούμεθα. καίτοι καὶ οἱ νόμοι τούτοις ἀποδεδώκασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σωθεῖσιν οἵκαδε, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτρούμεθα, οὐχ ἵνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὦσιν ἐλεύθεροι. ὁρᾷς ὡς οὐχ ἱκανόν ἐστιν ἀργύριον καταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἀποφῆναι τὸν λυτρωθέντα δοῦλον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς δοῦλος, οὗ κύριός ἐστιν ἕτερος προσαναγκάσαι πράττειν ὅ,τι ἂν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον κόλασαι καί, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,

κακαῖς ὀδύνῃσι πελάζειν;

ὅρα δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν B
εἰσιν, οὓς ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν θεραπεύειν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀλγῶμεν μηδὲ λυπώμεθα κολαζόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν.

do not believe me, try his mode of life in deed and not in word, and you will perceive the truth.

Come, let us first test it by reasoning. You think, do you not, that for mankind freedom is the beginning of all good things,[1] I mean of course what people are always calling good? How can you deny it? For property, money, birth, physical strength, beauty and in a word everything of the sort when divorced from freedom are surely blessings that belong, not to him who merely seems to enjoy them, but to him who is that man's master? Whom then are we to regard as a slave? Shall it be him whom we buy for so many silver drachmas, for two minae or for ten staters[2] of gold? Probably you will say that such a man is truly a slave. And why? Is it because we have paid down money for him to the seller? But in that case the prisoners of war whom we ransom would be slaves. And yet the law on the one hand grants these their freedom when they have come safe home, and we on the other hand ransom them not that they may become slaves, but that they may be free. Do you see then that in order to make a ransomed man a slave it is not enough to pay down a sum of money, but that man is truly a slave over whom another man has power to compel him to do whatever he orders, and if he refuse, to punish him and in the words of the poet "to inflict grievous pains upon him"?[3] Then consider next whether we have not as many masters as there are persons whom we are obliged to conciliate in order not to suffer pain or annoyance from being punished by them? Or do you think that the

[1] Cf. 188 C, Plato, *Laws* 730 B.
[2] The stater or Daric was worth about a sovereign.
[3] *Iliad* 5. 766.

ἢ τοῦτο οἴει κόλασιν μόνον, εἴ τις ἐπανατεινόμενος τὴν βακτηρίαν καθίκοιτο τοῦ οἰκέτου; καίτοι γε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ οἱ τραχύτατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ πάντων ποιοῦσι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἀρκεῖ πολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλή. μήποτε οὖν, ὦ φίλε, C νομίσῃς εἶναι ἐλεύθερος, ἄχρις οὗ γαστὴρ ἄρχει σου καὶ τὰ ἔνερθεν γαστρὸς οἵ τε τοῦ παρασχεῖν τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ταὐτὰ[1] ἀποκωλῦσαι κύριοι, καὶ εἰ τούτων δὲ γένοιο κρείττων, ἕως ἂν δουλεύῃς ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις, οὔπω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔθιγες οὐδὲ ἐγεύσω τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐν στέρνοισιν ἐμοῖς παραδόντα τετρακτύν.

καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὡς ἀπερυθριᾶσαι χρὴ πρὸς D πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα· ἀλλ' ὧν ἀπεχόμεθα καὶ ὅσα πράττομεν, μὴ διὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖν σπουδαῖα πως[2] ἢ φαῦλα, διὰ τοῦτο πράττωμεν καὶ ἀπεχώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ νῷ, ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει ταῖς κοιναῖς ἕπεσθαι δόξαις· ἄμεινον γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθριᾶν· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἄνθρω- 197
ποι φύσει πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οἰκείως· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἤδη κατὰ νοῦν ζῶντι καὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς εὑρεῖν τε δυναμένῳ καὶ κρῖναι λόγους προσήκει τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἕπεσθαι τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον πράττεσθαι.

[1] ταὐτὰ Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.
[2] πως Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.

only sort of punishment is when a man lifts up his stick against a slave and strikes him? Yet not even the harshest masters do this in the case of all their slaves, but a word or a threat is often enough. Then never think, my friend, that you are free while your belly rules you and the part below the belly, since you will then have masters who can either furnish you the means of pleasure or deprive you of them; and even though you should prove yourself superior to these, so long as you are a slave to the opinions of the many you have not yet approached freedom or tasted its nectar, "I swear by him who set in my breast the mystery of the Four!"[1] But I do not mean by this that we ought to be shameless before all men and to do what we ought not; but all that we refrain from and all that we do let us not do or refrain from, merely because it seems to the multitude somehow honourable or base, but because it is forbidden by reason and the god within us, that is, the mind.[2] As for the multitude there is no reason why they should not follow common opinions, for that is better than that they should be altogether shameless, and indeed mankind is predisposed to the truth by nature. But a man who has attained to a life in accordance with intelligence and is able to discover and estimate right reasons, ought on no account whatever to follow the views held by the many about good and bad conduct.

[1] An oath used by the Pythagoreans, who regarded the tetrad, the sum of the first four numbers, as symbolical of all proportion and perfection; cf. Aetios, *Placita* 1. 7. Pythagoras, *Aureum Carmen* 47, Mullach *νὰ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρᾳ ψυχᾷ παραδόντα τετρακτύν.*

[2] Cf. *Oration* 268 D; Euripides *fr.* 1007 Nauck *ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ θεός*; Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 8. 138.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν θειότερον, ὃ δὴ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησίν φαμεν καὶ λόγον τὸν σιγώμενον, οὗ κήρυξ ἐστὶν ὁ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς οὑτοσὶ λόγος προϊὼν ἐξ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, ἕτερον δέ τι τούτῳ συνέζευκται ποικίλον καὶ παντοδαπόν, ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ξυμμιγές τι B καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον χρὴ πρὸς τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενῶς ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀδιατρέπτως, πρὶν ἂν τοῦτο δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίον καὶ πείσωμεν ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ θείῳ. τοῦτο γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦ Διογένους ζηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες[1] ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιαροὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἑνὸς κρείττους, ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστί, πρῶτον ἔργον ἐρῶ σοι Διογένους, ἐφ' C ᾧ γελάσονται μὲν οἱ πολλοί, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ σεμνότατον. ἐπειδὴ γάρ τις τῶν νέων ἐν ὄχλῳ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ Διογένους, ἀπέπαρδεν, ἐπάταξεν ἐκεῖνος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ φάς· εἶτα, ὦ κάθαρμα, μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσίᾳ τὰ τοιαῦτα θαρσεῖν πράξας ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἄρχῃ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὕτως ᾤετο χρῆναι πρότερον ἡδονῆς καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πρὶν[2] ἐπὶ τὸ τελειότατον ἐλθεῖν τῶν παλαισμάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν D πολλῶν δόξας αἳ μυρίων κακῶν αἴτιαι γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅπως τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπάγουσιν, ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις τῶν

[1] ζηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες Hertlein suggests, ζηλώσαντες MSS.
[2] πρὶν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τρίτον MSS.

Since therefore one part of our souls is more divine, which we call mind and intelligence and silent reason, whose herald is this speech of ours made up of words and phrases and uttered through the voice; and since there is yoked therewith another part of the soul which is changeful and multiform, something composite of anger and appetite, a many-headed monster, we ought not to look steadily and unswervingly at the opinions of the multitude until we have tamed this wild beast and persuaded it to obey the god within us, or rather the divine part. For this it is that many disciples of Diogenes have ignored, and hence have become rapacious and depraved and no better than any one of the brute beasts. And to prove that this is not my own theory,[1] first I will relate to you something that Diogenes did, which the many will ridicule but to me it seems most dignified. Once when, in a crowd of people among whom was Diogenes, a certain youth made an unseemly noise, Diogenes struck him with his staff and said "And so, vile wretch, though you have done nothing that would give you the right to take such liberties in public, you are beginning here and before us to show your scorn of opinion?" So convinced was he that a man ought to subdue pleasure and passion before he proceeds to the final encounter of all[2] and strips to wrestle with those opinions which to the multitude are the cause of evils innumerable.

Do you not know how people lure away the young from philosophy by continually uttering now one

[1] Euripides *fr.* 488; *Misopogon* 358 D.
[2] Cf. *Oration* 1. 40 B, 2. 74 C, notes.

φιλοσόφων θρυλοῦντες; οἱ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους χορευταὶ γνήσιοι γόητες εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ τετυφωμένοι καὶ φαρμακεῖς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἴ πού τις 198
γέγονε σπουδαῖος, ἐλεεινὸς δοκεῖ· μέμνημαι γοῦν ἐγώ ποτε τροφέως εἰπόντος πρός με, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἑταῖρον εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα αὐχμηρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν κόμην καὶ κατερρωγότα τὰ στέρνα ἱμάτιόν τε παντάπασι φαῦλον ἐν δεινῷ χειμῶνι· τίς ἄρα δαίμων τοῦτον εἰς ταύτην περιέτρεψε τὴν συμφοράν, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐλεεινός, ἐλεεινότεροι δὲ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, θρέψαντες σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ παιδεύσαντες ὡς ἐνεδέχετο σπουδαίως, ὁ δὲ οὕτω B
νῦν περιέρχεται, πάντα ἀφείς, οὐδὲν τῶν προσαιτούντων κρείττων; ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τότε κατειρωνευσάμην· εὖ μέντοι γε ἴσθι ταῦτα καὶ[1] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀληθῶς κυνῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διανοουμένους. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγαπᾶν πείθουσι καὶ πενίαν μισεῖν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεύειν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα πάντα ὑπομένειν πόνον καὶ πιαίνειν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμὸν καὶ τράπεζαν παρατίθεσθαι πολυτελῆ καὶ μηδέποτε νύκτωρ C
καθεύδειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα δρᾶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ λανθάνοντα; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Ταρτάρου χεῖρον; οὐ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ μυρίας ὀργυιὰς κατὰ γῆς δῦναι, ἢ πεσεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον βίον αἰδοίοις καὶ γαστρὶ δουλεύοντα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἁπλῶς ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία, πράγματα δὲ ἔχειν, ὡς ἂν καὶ

[1] ταῦτα καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ ταῦτα MSS.

slander and then another against all the philosophers in turn? The genuine disciples of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle are called sorcerers and sophists and conceited and quacks. If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity. For instance I remember that once my tutor said to me when he saw my fellow-pupil Iphicles with his hair unkempt and his clothes in tatters on his chest and wearing a wretched cloak in severe winter weather: "What evil genius can have plunged him into this sad state which makes not only him pitiable but even more so his parents who reared him with care and gave him the best education they could! And now he goes about in this condition, neglecting everything and no better than a beggar!" At the time I answered him with some pleasantry or other. But I assure you that the multitude hold these views about genuine Cynics also. And that is not so dreadful, but do you see that they persuade them to love wealth, to hate poverty, to minister to the belly, to endure any toil for the body's sake, to fatten that prison of the soul, to keep up an expensive table, never to sleep alone at night,[1] provided only that they do all this in the dark and are not found out? Is not this worse than Tartarus? Is it not better to sink beneath Charybdis and Cocytus or ten thousand fathoms deep in the earth[2] than to fall into a life like this, enslaved to lust and appetite, and not even to these simply and openly, like the beasts, but to take pains so that when we act thus we may

[1] Cf. Plato, *Epistles* 326 B.

[2] An echo of Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7. 1. 29.

λάθοιμεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκότῳ ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι; καίτοι πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἀπέχεσθαι παντάπασιν D
αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥᾴδιον, οἱ Διογένους νόμοι καὶ
Κράτητος ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἀτιμαστέοι· ἔρωτα
λύει λιμός, ἂν δὲ τούτῳ χρῆσθαι μὴ δύνῃ,[1] βρόχος.
οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι ταῦτα ἔπραξαν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ βίῳ
διδόντες ὁδὸν εὐτελείας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζο-
φάγων, φησὶν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ τύραννοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 199
τῶν δειπνούντων πολυτελῶς. καὶ ὁ Κράτης μέντοι
πεποίηκεν ὕμνον εἰς τὴν Εὐτέλειαν·

Χαῖρε, θεὰ δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα,
Εὐτελίη, κλεινῆς ἔγγονε Σωφροσύνης.

ἔστω δὴ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ὁ κύων ἀναιδὴς
μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντος μηδὲ ὑπερόπτης πάντων ὁμοῦ
θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβὴς μὲν τὰ
πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὥσπερ Διογένης· ἐπείσθη γοῦν B
ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ πεισ-
θέντι· εἰ δέ, ὅτι μὴ προσῄει μηδὲ ἐθεράπευε τοὺς
νεὼς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδὲ τοὺς βωμούς, οἴεταί
τις ἀθεότητος εἶναι σημεῖον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς νομίζει·
ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ λιβανωτός, οὐ
σπονδή, οὐκ ἀργύριον, ὅθεν αὐτὰ πρίαιτο. εἰ δὲ
ἐνόει περὶ θεῶν ὀρθῶς, ἤρκει τοῦτο μόνον· αὐτῇ γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ἐθεράπευε[2] τῇ ψυχῇ, διδοὺς οἶμαι τὰ
τιμιώτατα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ καθοσιῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἀπερυθριάτω δὲ μη- C
δαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἑπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον μὲν
αὐτῷ χειρόηθες καταστησάτω τὸ παθηματικὸν

[1] δύνῃ Hertlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2; δύνασαι MSS.
[2] ἐθεράπευε Hertlein suggests, ἐθεράπευσε MSS.

be hidden under cover of darkness? And yet how much better is it to refrain altogether from all this! And if that be difficult the rules of Diogenes and Crates on these matters are not to be despised: "Fasting quenches desire, and if you cannot fast, hang yourself."[1] Do you not know that those great men lived as they did in order to introduce among men the way of plain living? "For," says Diogenes, "it is not among men who live on bread that you will find tyrants, but among those who eat costly dinners." Moreover Crates wrote a hymn to Plain Living: "Hail, goddess and Queen, darling of wise men, Plain Living, child of glorious Temperance."[2] Then let not the Cynic be like Oenomaus shameless or impudent, or a scorner of everything human and divine, but reverent towards sacred things, like Diogenes. For he obeyed the Pythian oracle nor did he repent of his obedience. But if anyone supposes that because he did not visit the temples or worship statues or altars this is a sign of impiety, he does not think rightly. For Diogenes possessed nothing that is usually offered, incense or libations or money to buy them with. But if he held right opinions about the gods, that in itself was enough. For he worshipped them with his whole soul, thus offering them as I think the most precious of his possessions, the dedication of his soul through his thoughts. Let not the Cynic be shameless, but led by reason let him first make subservient to himself the emotional part of his soul so that he may entirely do

[1] Diogenes Laertius 6. 86; *Palatine Anthology* 9. 497; Julian paraphrases the verses of Crates, cf. Crates *fr.* 14, Diels. [2] *Palatine Anthology* 10. 104.

τῆς ψυχῆς μόριον, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲ ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ἡδονῶν εἰδέναι. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἄμεινον ἐλθεῖν, εἰς τὸ καί, εἰ πάσχει τις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅλως ἀγνοῆσαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῶν γυμνασιῶν προσγίνεται. ἵνα δὲ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ με ταῦτα ἄλλως λέγειν, ἐκ τῶν παιγνίων Κράτητος ὀλίγα σοι παραγράψω· D

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλῦτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ·
Χόρτον ἀεὶ συνεχῶς δότε γαστέρι, ἤτε μοι αἰεὶ
Χωρὶς δουλοσύνης λιτὸν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὠφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρου ὄλβον [1]
Μύρμηκός τ' ἄφενος χρήματα μαιόμενος, 200
Ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγείρειν [2]
Εὔφορον, εὔκτητον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχὼν Ἑρμῆν καὶ Μούσας ἱλάσομ' ἁγνάς.
Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὁσίαις.

εἰ χρή σοι περὶ τούτων γράφειν, ἔχω πλείονα τοῦ B ἀνδρός. ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ Χαιρωνεῖ Πλουτάρχῳ τὸν Κράτητος ἀναγράψαντι βίον οὐδὲν ἐκ παρέργου μανθάνειν δεήσει τὸν ἄνδρα.

Ἀλλ' ἐπανίωμεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρὴ τὸν ἀρχόμενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτιμᾶν C

[1] ὄλβον Wright, cf. 213B, οἶτον MSS., Hertlein.
[2] ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀγινεῖν Hertlein, MSS.

away with it and not even be aware that he is superior to pleasures. For it is nobler to attain to this, I mean to complete ignorance whether one has any such emotions. And this comes to us only through training. And that none may think I say this at random I will add for your benefit a few lines from the lighter verse of Crates:[1] "Glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, ye Muses of Pieria, hearken to my prayer! Give me without ceasing victuals for my belly which has always made my life frugal and free from slavery. . . . To my friends make me useful rather than agreeable. As for money I desire not to amass conspicuous wealth, seeking after the wealth of the beetle or the substance of the ant; nay, I desire to possess justice and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, of great avail for virtue. If I may but win these I will propitiate Hermes and the holy Muses not with costly dainties but with pious virtues." If it be of any use to write for you about such things I could recite still more maxims by this same Crates. But if you will read Plutarch of Chaeronea, who wrote his *Life*, there will be no need for you to learn his character superficially from me.

But let me go back to what I said before, that he who is entering on the career of a Cynic ought first

[1] *I.e.* parodies such as the verses here quoted which parody Solon's prayer *fr.* 12, Bergk; cf. 213 B.

πικρῶς καὶ ἐξελέγχειν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζειν ὅ, τι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν σιτίων χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνῆς δεῖται μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἢ δόξης ἐστὶν ἥττων, εἰ τοῦτο ζηλοῖ τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καί, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἴη, τίμιον ὅμως νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφορὰν ὄχλων καθυφείσθω,[1] γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ D ἄκρῳ, φασί, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴν παντελῶς πατήσῃ. τότε ἤδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἂν προσπίπτῃ, θιγεῖν οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ταύρων ἀκούω τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἀγείρειν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐπιέναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀμφισβητεῖν τοῖς προκατέχουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἀξιωτέρους προϊστασθαι. ὅστις οὖν κυνίζειν ἐθέλει μήτε τὸν τρίβωνα μήτε τὴν πήραν μήτε τὴν βακ- 201
τηρίαν καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐν κώμῃ βαδίζῃ κουρείων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐνδεεῖ ἄκαρτος καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀντὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου καὶ τὴν ἔνστασιν ἀντὶ τῆς πήρας τῆς κυνικῆς ὑπολαμβανέτω φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσματα. παρρησίᾳ δὲ χρηστέον αὐτῷ πρῶτον ὁπόσου πέφυκεν ἄξιος ἐπιδειξαμένῳ, ὥσπερ οἶμαι Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἳ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀπειλὴν τύχης καὶ εἴτε παιδιὰν εἴτε παροινίαν χρὴ φάναι B

[1] καθυφείσθω Hertlein suggests, καθείσθω MSS.

to censure severely and cross-examine himself, and without any self-flattery ask himself the following questions in precise terms: whether he enjoys expensive food; whether he cannot do without a soft bed; whether he is the slave of rewards and the opinion of men; whether it is his ambition to attract public notice and even though that be an empty honour [1] he still thinks it worth while. Nevertheless he must not let himself drift with the current of the mob or touch vulgar pleasure even with the tip of his finger, as the saying is, until he has succeeded in trampling on it; then and not before he may permit himself to dip into that sort of thing if it come his way. For instance I am told that bulls which are weaker than the rest separate themselves from the herd and pasture alone while they store up their strength in every part of their bodies by degrees, until they rejoin the herd in good condition, and then they challenge its leaders to contend with them, in confidence that they are more fit to take the lead. Therefore let him who wishes to be a Cynic philosopher not adopt merely their long cloak or wallet or staff or their way of wearing the hair, as though he were like a man walking unshaved and illiterate in a village that lacked barbers' shops and schools, but let him consider that reason rather than a staff and a certain plan of life rather than a wallet are the mintmarks of the Cynic philosophy. And freedom of speech he must not employ until he have first proved how much he is worth, as I believe was the case with Crates and Diogenes. For they were so far from bearing with a bad grace any threat of

[1] An echo of Euripides, *Phoenissae* 551, *περιβλέπεσθαι τίμιον, κενὸν μὲν οὖν.*

τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ δυσκόλως ἐνεγκεῖν, ὥστε ἁλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ὁ Διογένης ἔπαιζεν, ὁ Κράτης δὲ ἐδημοσίευε τὴν οὐσίαν, εἶτα τὸ σῶμα βλαβεὶς ἔσκωπτεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ σκέλους καὶ τὸ κυρτὸν τῶν ὤμων, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων ἑστίας ἄκλητος καὶ[1] κεκλημένος, διαλλάσσων τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀλλήλοις, εἴποτε στασιάζοντας αἴσθοιτο, ἐπετίμα δὲ οὐ μετὰ πικρίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χάριτος, οὐχ ἵνα C συκοφαντεῖν δοκῇ τοὺς σωφρονισθέντας, ὠφελεῖν δὲ ἐθέλων αὐτούς τε ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ προηγούμενον αὐτοῖς τέλος· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, ἐσκόπουν ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσουσιν,[2] ἔμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ξυνίεσαν οἶμαι φύσει κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ζῷον τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ὠφέλησαν οὐ τοῖς παραδείγμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις. ὅστις οὖν ἂν ἐθέλῃ D Κυνικὸς εἶναι καὶ σπουδαῖος ἀνήρ, αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπιμεληθείς, ὥσπερ Διογένης καὶ Κράτης ἐξελαυνέτω μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντα ἐκ πάσης τὰ πάθη, ὀρθῷ δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λόγῳ καὶ νῷ κυβερνάσθω. κεφάλαιον γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, τοῦτο τῆς Διογένους φιλοσοφίας.

Εἰ δὲ ἑταίρᾳ ποτὲ προσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνήρ· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο τυχὸν ἅπαξ ἢ οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο· ὅταν ἡμῖν τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν Διογένη γένηται 202

[1] Before κεκλημένος Cobet adds καὶ ; cf. Oration 8. 250 C.
[2] εὐδαιμονήσουσιν Hertlein suggests, εὐδαιμονήσωσιν MSS.

fortune, whether one call such threats caprice or wanton insult, that once when he had been captured by pirates Diogenes joked with them; as for Crates he gave his property to the state, and being physically deformed he made fun of his own lame leg and hunched shoulders. But when his friends gave an entertainment he used to go, whether invited or not,[1] and would reconcile his nearest friends if he learned that they had quarrelled. He used to reprove them not harshly but with a charming manner and not so as to seem to persecute those whom he wished to reform, but as though he wished to be of use both to them and to the bystanders.

Yet this was not the chief end and aim of those Cynics, but as I said their main concern was how they might themselves attain to happiness and, as I think, they occupied themselves with other men only in so far as they comprehended that man is by nature a social and political animal; and so they aided their fellow-citizens, not only by practising but by preaching as well. Then let him who wishes to be a Cynic, earnest and sincere, first take himself in hand like Diogenes and Crates, and expel from his own soul and from every part of it all passions and desires, and entrust all his affairs to reason and intelligence and steer his course by them. For this in my opinion was the sum and substance of the philosophy of Diogenes.

And if Diogenes did sometimes visit a courtesan —though even this happened only once perhaps or not even once—let him who would be a Cynic first satisfy us that he is, like Diogenes, a man of solid

[1] Thucydides 1. 118.

σπουδαῖος, ἂν αὐτῷ[1] φανῇ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι δρᾶν[2] φανερῶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, οὐ μεμψόμεθα οὐδὲ αἰτιασόμεθα. πρότερον μέντοι τὴν Διογένους ἡμῖν ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην, εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχήν, ὡς μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ μάτην μηδὲ ἀλόγως ποιεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς B
Διογένους ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας οἰκεῖα· πατείτω τῦφον, καταπαιζέτω τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῆς φύσεως ἔργα κρυπτόντων ἐν σκότῳ· φημὶ δὲ τῶν περιττωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις· ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηδευόντων τὰ βιαιότατα καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῶν οἰκεῖα τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἁρπαγάς, συκοφαντίας, γραφὰς ἀδίκους, διώξεις ἄλλων τοιούτων συρφετωδῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένης εἴτε ἀπέπαρδεν εἴτε ἀπεπάτησεν εἴτε C
ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἔπραξεν, ὥσπερ οὖν λέγουσιν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὸν ἐκείνων πατῶν τῦφον ἐποίει, διδάσκων αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλῷ φαυλότερα καὶ χαλεπώτερα τούτων ἐπιτηδεύουσι. τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν πᾶσι κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδενί, πάντα δὲ ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτηδεύεται.

Ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ζηλωταὶ τὸ ῥᾷστον καὶ κουφότατον ἑλόμενοι τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ εἶδον· σύ τε ἐκείνων εἶναι σεμνότερος ἐθέλων ἀπεπλανή- D

[1] αὐτῷ Cobet, οὕτω Hertlein, MSS.
[2] δρᾶν, Petavius, φάναι Hertlein, MSS.

worth, and then if he see fit to do that sort of thing openly and in the sight of all men, we shall not reproach him with it or accuse him. First however we must see him display the ability to learn and the quick wit of Diogenes, and in all other relations he must show the same independence, self-sufficiency, justice, moderation, piety, gratitude, and the same extreme carefulness not to act at random or without a purpose or irrationally. For these too are characteristic of the philosophy of Diogenes. Then let him trample on vaingloriousness, let him ridicule those who though they conceal in darkness the necessary functions of our nature—for instance the secretion of what is superfluous—yet in the centre of the market-place and of our cities carry on practices that are most brutal and by no means akin to our nature, for instance robbery of money, false accusations, unjust indictments, and the pursuit of other rascally business of the same sort. On the other hand when Diogenes made unseemly noises or obeyed the call of nature or did anything else of that sort in the market-place, as they say he did, he did so because he was trying to trample on the conceit of the men I have just mentioned, and to teach them that their practices were far more sordid and insupportable than his own. For what he did was in accordance with the nature of all of us, but theirs accorded with no man's real nature, one may say, but were all due to moral depravity.

In our own day, however, the imitators of Diogenes have chosen only what is easiest and least burdensome and have failed to see his nobler side. And as for you, in your desire to be more dignified

θης τοσοῦτον τῆς Διογένους προαιρέσεως, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐλεεινὸν ἐνόμισας. εἰ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἠπίστεις ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς λεγομένοις, ὃν οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες τότε ἐθαύμασαν μετὰ Σωκράτη καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐπὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, οὗ γέγονεν ἀκροατὴς ὁ τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου καὶ συνετωτάτου Ζήνωνος καθηγεμών, οὓς ῥᾳδίως εἰκὸς ἦν ἅπαντας ἀπατηθῆναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς οὕτω φαύλου, ὁποῖον σὺ διακωμῳδεῖς, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἴσως ἄν τι πλέον 203
ἐσκόπησας περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορρωτέρω προῆλθες τῆς ἐμπειρίας τἀνδρός. τίνα γὰρ οὐκ ἐξέπληξε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ Διογένους καρτερία, βασιλικῆς οὐκ ἔξω μεγαλοψυχίας οὖσα, καὶ φιλοπονία; ἐκάθευδεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἐν τῷ πίθῳ βέλτιον ἢ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐπιχρύσοις ὀρόφοις ἐν τῇ μαλθακῇ κλίνῃ, ἤσθιε τὴν μᾶζαν ἥδιον ἢ σὺ νῦν τὰς Σικελικὰς ἐσθίεις τραπέζας, ἐλούετο ψυχρῷ[1] Β
τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ἀέρα ξηραίνων ἀντὶ τῶν ὀθονίων, οἷς σὺ ἀπομάττῃ, φιλοσοφώτατε. πάνυ σοι προσήκει κωμῳδεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι κατειργάσω τὸν Ξέρξην, ὡς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἢ τὸν Δαρεῖον, ὡς ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰ σμικρὰ τὰς βίβλους ἀνελίττων ἐμελέτας ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες, ἔγνως ἄν, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος ἀγασθῆναι λέγεται τὴν Διογένους μεγαλοψυχίαν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔστι σοι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,

[1] ψυχρῷ Naber, θερμῷ Hertlein, MSS.

than those early Cynics you have strayed so far from Diogenes' plan of life that you thought him an object of pity. But if you did not believe all this that I say about a man whom all the Greeks in the generation of Plato and Aristotle admired next to Socrates and Pythagoras, a man whose pupil was the teacher of the most modest and most wise Zeno,—and it is not likely that they were all deceived about a man as contemptible as you make him out to be in your travesty,—well, in that case, my dear sir, perhaps you might have studied his character more carefully and you would have progressed further in your knowledge of the man. Was there, I ask, a single Greek who was not amazed by the endurance of Diogenes and by his perseverance, which had in it a truly royal greatness of soul? The man used to sleep in his jar on a bed of leaves more soundly than the Great King on his soft couch under a gilded roof; he used to eat his crust[1] with a better appetite than you now eat your Sicilian courses[2]; he used to bathe his body in cold water and dry himself in the open air instead of with the linen towels with which you rub yourself down, my most philosophic friend! It becomes you well to ridicule him because, I suppose, like Themistocles you conquered Xerxes, or Darius like Alexander of Macedon. But if you had the least habit of reading books as I do, though I am a statesman and engrossed in public affairs, you would know how much Alexander is said to have admired Diogenes' greatness of soul. But you care little, I suppose, for any of these things. How should you

[1] Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 6. 12, Arnim.

[2] A proverb; Sicily was famous for good cooking; cf. Plato, *Republic* 404 D; Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. 18, "Siculae dapes."

σπουδαῖον· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· γυναικῶν ἀθλίων τεθαύμακας φιλονεικῶν[1] βίον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος τι πλέον ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἐμὸν μᾶλλον ἢ σόν ἐστι κέρδος· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν περαίνομεν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπνευστὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνείραντες· ἔστι γὰρ πάρεργον ἡμέραιν δυοῖν, ὡς ἴσασιν αἱ Μοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ σὺ[2] αὐτός· παραμενέτω μέν σοι ὁπόσα πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεις, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ μεταμελήσει τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα εὐφημίας.

[1] φιλονεικῶν Hertlein suggests, φιλῶν νεκρὸν, MSS.
[2] σὺ Reiske adds, παραμενέτω μέν σοι Reiske conjectures, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

care? Far from it![1] You admire and emulate the life of wretched women.

However, if my discourse has improved you at all you will have gained more than I. But even if I accomplish nothing at the moment by writing on such a great subject thus hastily, and, as the saying is, without taking breath[2]—for I gave to it only the leisure of two days, as the Muses or rather you yourself will bear me witness—then do you abide by your former opinions, but I at any rate shall never regret having spoken of that great man with due reverence.

[1] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 47.
[2] Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 308, cf. Vol. I. *Oration* 5. 178 D.

ORATION VII

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

The Seventh Oration is directed against the Cynic Heracleios, who had ventured to recite before an audience when Julian was present a myth or allegory in which the gods were irreverently handled. Julian raises the question whether fables and myths are suitable for a Cynic discourse. He names the regular divisions of philosophy and decides that the use of myths may properly be allowed only to ethical philosophers and writers on theology: that myth is intended always as a means of religious teaching and should be addressed to children and those whose intellect does not allow them to envisage the truth without some such assistance. In Sallust's treatise *On the Gods and the World* he gives much the same account of the proper function of myths and divides them into five species, giving examples of each. "To wish to teach the whole truth about the gods to all produces contempt in the foolish, because they cannot understand, and lack of zeal in the good; whereas to conceal the truth by myths prevents the contempt of the foolish and compels the good to practise philosophy."[1] This is precisely the opinion of Julian as expressed

[1] Murray's translation of Sallust in *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912.

in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Orations. Though both Julian and Sallust explain the myths away they are never rationalistic, and never offer the least excuse for scepticism. Julian's explanation of the Semele myth,[1] which makes Semele an inspired prophetess and not the mother of Dionysus, tends to the greater glory of the god. The conclusion is that Heracleios should not have used myth at all, but in any case he used the wrong sort and wrote in the wrong spirit. He should have used such a myth as that composed by Prodicus the sophist on the Choice of Heracles at the Crossroads, an allegory which is more than once cited by Julian and was a favourite illustration in later Greek literature.[2]

To show Heraclius what he might have written with propriety Julian adds a parable of his own modelled on that of Prodicus. In this he himself plays the part of a second Heracles, and takes the opportunity to vilify Constantius and point out his own mission of reformer and restorer of order and religion to the Empire. Throughout the parable there are striking resemblances with the First Oration of Dio Chrysostom, and Asmus[3] has made a detailed comparison of the two writers to prove that Julian wrote with Dio before him. In many of these parallels both Julian and Dio can be traced to a common classical source, usually Plato, but there is no doubt that Julian was thoroughly familiar

[1] *Oration* 7, 219. [2] Cf. Vol. I, *Oration* 2. 56 D.

[3] Asmus, *Julian und Dion Chrysostomus*, 1895; cf. Praechter, *Archiv fur Geschichte der Philosophie* 5. *Dion Chrysostomus als Quelle Julians.* Julian only once mentions Dio by name, *Oration* 7, 212 C.

with the work of Dio and often used the same illustrations. Themistius[1] however uses the Prodicus myth in much the same words as Dio, and it is imitated also by Maximus of Tyre.[2]

In conclusion Julian praises the earlier Cynics and criticises the later, in much the same words as he had used in the Sixth Oration.

[1] Themistius, 280 A.
[2] Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertation* 20.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΥΝΙΚΟΝ

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ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΥΝΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΤΩ ΚΥΝΙ ΜΥΘΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ

Ἦ πολλὰ γίνεται ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ· τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἀκηκοότι μοι πρώην ἐπῆλθεν ἐκβοῆσαι, ὁπηνίκα παρακληθέντες ἠκροώμεθα κυνὸς οὔτι τορὸν οὐδὲ γενναῖον ὑλακτοῦντος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι μύθους ἄδοντος καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ὑγιῶς διατιθεμένου. παραχρῆμα μὲν οὖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι διαναστάντι διαλῦσαι τὸν σύλλογον· ἐπεὶ δὲ B ἐχρῆν ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ κωμῳδουμένων Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἀκούειν, οὐ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνειλεγμένων χάριν ὑπέμεινα, μάλλον δέ, εἰ χρή τι καὶ νεανικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίας εὐσεβοῦς καὶ C λελογισμένης, ὥσπερ αἱ πελειάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων σοβηθεὶς ἀναπτῆναι. ἔμενον δὲ ἐκεῖνο πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εἰπών

Τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ᾽ ἔτλης,

ἀνάσχου καὶ κυνὸς ληροῦντος ὀλίγον ἡμέρας

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

HOW A CYNIC OUGHT TO BEHAVE, AND WHETHER IT IS PROPER FOR HIM TO COMPOSE MYTHS

"Truly with the lapse of time many things come to pass!" [1] This verse I have heard in a comedy and the other day I was tempted to proclaim it aloud, when by invitation we attended the lecture of a Cynic whose barking was neither distinct nor noble; but he was crooning myths as nurses do, and even these he did not compose in any profitable fashion. For a moment my impulse was to rise and break up the meeting. But though I had to listen as one does when Heracles and Dionysus are being caricatured in the theatre by comic poets,[2] I bore it to the end, not for the speaker's sake but for the sake of the audience, or rather, if I may presume to say so, it was still more for my own sake, so that I might not seem to be moved by superstition rather than by a pious and rational sentiment and to be scared into flight by his miserable words like a timid dove. So I stayed and repeated to myself the famous line "Bear it my heart: yea thou didst of yore endure things yet more shameful." [3] Endure for the brief fraction of a day even

[1] Eupolis *fr.* 4. [2] Cf. *Misopogon* 366 c. [3] *Odyssey* 20. 18.

μόριον, οὐ πρῶτον ἀκούεις τῶν θεῶν βλασφημουμένων, οὐχ οὕτω τὰ κοινὰ πράττομεν καλῶς, οὐχ οὕτω τῶν ἰδίων ἕνεκα σωφρονοῦμεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εὐτυχεῖς ἐσμεν, ὥστε τὰς ἀκοὰς 205
καθαρὰς ἔχειν ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον γοῦν τὰ ὄμματα μὴ κεχράνθαι τοῖς παντοδαποῖς τουτουὶ τοῦ σιδηροῦ γένους ἀσεβήμασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐνδεεῖς ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἀνέπλησεν οὐκ εὐαγῶν ὁ κύων ῥημάτων τὸν ἄριστον τῶν θεῶν ὀνομάσας, ὡς μήποτε ὤφελε μήτ' ἐκεῖνος εἰπεῖν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἀκοῦσαι, δεῦρο πειραθῶμεν αὐτὸν
ἐφ' ὑμῶν διδάξαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τῷ κυνὶ λόγους B
μᾶλλον ἢ μύθους προσήκει γράφειν, εἶτα ὁποίας καὶ τίνας χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διασκευὰς τῶν μύθων, εἴ τι ἄρα καὶ φιλοσοφία προσδεῖται τῆς μυθογραφίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλαβείας ὀλίγα διαλέξομαι· τοῦτο γάρ μοι καὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς παρόδου γέγονεν αἴτιον καίπερ οὐκ ὄντι συγγραφικῷ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπαχθῶν καὶ σοφιστικῶν
τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον παραιτησαμένῳ. μικρὰ δὲ C
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου καθάπερ τινὰ γενεαλογίαν ἴσως οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐμοί τε φάναι ὑμῖν τε ἀκοῦσαι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὁπόθεν ηὑρέθη καὶ ὅστις ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψεῦδος πιθανῶς συνθεῖναι πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἢ ψυχαγωγίαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οὐ μᾶλλον εὕροι τις ἂν ἢ εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε τὸν πρῶτον πταρόντα ἢ χρεμψάμενον ἀναζητεῖν. εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἱππεῖς ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Θετταλίᾳ, D

a babbling Cynic! It is not the first time that thou hast had to hear the gods blasphemed! Our state is not so well governed, our private life is not so virtuous, in a word we are not so favoured by fortune that we can keep our ears pure or at any rate our eyes at least undefiled by the many and various impieties of this iron race. And now as though we had not enough of such vileness this Cynic fills our ears with his blasphemies, and has uttered the name of the highest of the gods in such wise as would he had never spoken nor I heard! But since he has done this, come, let me in your presence try to teach him this lesson; first that it is more becoming for a Cynic to write discourses than myths; secondly, what sort of adaptations of the myths he ought to make, if indeed philosophy really needs mythology at all; and finally I shall have a few words to say about reverence for the gods. For it is with this aim that I appear before you, I who have no talent for writing and who have hitherto avoided addressing the general public, as I have avoided all else that is tedious and sophistical. But perhaps it is not unsuitable for me to say and for you to hear a few words about myth in general as a sort of genealogy of that kind of writing.

Now one could no more discover where myth was originally invented and who was the first to compose fiction in a plausible manner for the benefit or entertainment of his hearers, than if one were to try to find out who was the first man that sneezed or the first horse that neighed. But as cavalry arose in Thrace and Thessaly[1] and archers and the lighter

[1] Ἱππεῖς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ καὶ Θρᾴκῃ was a well-known proverb; cf. *Oration* 2. 63 C, D.

τοξόται δὲ καὶ τὰ κουφότερα τῶν ὅπλων ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ Κρήτῃ καὶ Καρίᾳ ἀνεφάνη,[1] τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας ἀκολουθούντων οἶμαι τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οὕτω τις ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα τιμᾶται, μάλιστα παρὰ τούτων αὐτὰ καὶ πρῶτον ηὑρῆσθαι· τῶν ἀγελαίων ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τό γε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μῦθος 206
εὕρημα, καὶ διαμένει ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτευόμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, αὐλὸς καὶ κιθάρα, τέρψεως ἕνεκα καὶ ψυχαγωγίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ[2] ὄρνιθες ἵπτασθαι καὶ νεῖν οἱ[3] ἰχθύες αἵ τε ἔλαφοι θεῖν ἐπειδὴ πεφύκασιν οὐδὲν τοῦ διδαχθῆναι προσδέονται, κἂν δήσῃ τις κἂν καθείρξῃ, πειρᾶται ὅμως χρῆσθαι τούτοις τοῖς μορίοις, πρὸς ἃ σύνοιδεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσι, ταυτὶ τὰ ζῷα, οὕτως οἶμαι
καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι τὴν B
ψυχὴν ἔχον ἢ λόγον καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὥσπερ ἐγκαθειργμένην, ὃ δὴ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ δύναμιν, ἐπὶ τὸ μανθάνειν τε[4] καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς οἰκειότατον ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἔργων, τρέπεται· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν εὐμενὴς θεὸς ταχέως ἔλυσε τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἤγαγε, τούτῳ πάρεστιν εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμη, τοῖς δεδεμένοις δὲ ἔτι, καθάπερ οἶμαι Ἰξίων νεφέλῃ τινὶ[5] ἀντὶ τῆς C
θεοῦ λέγεται παραναπαύσασθαι, τούτοις ἀντ' ἀληθοῦς ψευδὴς[6] ἐντέτηκε δόξα· γίνεται γὰρ

[1] After Καρίᾳ Reiske suggests ἀνέφανη.
[2] οἱ Cobet adds. [3] οἱ Cobet adds.
[4] τε Hertlein suggests, τι MSS.
[5] Ἰξίων νεφέλῃ τινὶ Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
[6] τούτοις ἀντ' ἀληθοῦς ψευδὴς Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS., ἐντέτηκε Wright, τέτηκε Hertlein, MSS.

sort of weapons in India, Crete and Caria—since the customs of the people were I suppose adapted to the nature of the country,—just so we may assume about other things as well, that where anything is highly prized by a nation it was first discovered by that nation rather than by any other. On this assumption then it seems likely that myth was originally the invention of men given to pastoral pursuits, and from that day to this the making of myths is still peculiarly cultivated by them, just as they first invented instruments of music, the flute and the lyre, for their pleasure and entertainment. For just as it is the nature of birds to fly and of fish to swim and of stags to run, and hence they need not be taught to do so; and even if one bind or imprison these animals they try none the less to use those special parts of themselves for the purpose for which they know they are naturally adapted; even so I think the human race whose soul is no other than reason and knowledge imprisoned so to speak in the body—the philosophers call it a potentiality—even so I say the human race inclines to learning, research and study, as of all tasks most congenial to it. And when a kindly god without delay looses a man's fetters and brings that potentiality into activity, then on the instant knowledge is his: whereas in those who are still imprisoned false opinion instead of true is implanted, just as, I think, Ixion is said to have embraced a sort of cloud instead of the goddess.[1] And hence they produce wind-eggs[2] and monstrous

[1] *i.e.* Hera; cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 2. 20 foll.; Dio Chrysostom 4. 130, Arnim.

[2] Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 151 E.

ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς[1] τὰ ὑπηνέμια καὶ τερατώδη ταυτὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης οἷον εἴδωλα ἄττα καὶ σκιαί· πράττουσι γοῦν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐπιστήμης τὰ ψεύδη καὶ διδάσκουσί γε μάλα προθύμως καὶ μανθάνουσιν ὥσπερ οἶμαι χρηστόν τι καὶ θαυμαστόν. εἰ δ' ὅλως χρή τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς μύθους τὸ πρῶτον πλασάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι, D δοκοῦσί μοι ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς, ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυΐας κνησιῶσιν αὐτοῖς σκύτινα ἄττα προσαρτῶσι[2] ταῖν χεροῖν, ἵνα αὐτῶν παραμυθήσωνται τὸ πάθος, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ψυχαρίῳ πτεροφυοῦντι καὶ ποθοῦντι πλέον εἰδέναι τι, διδάσκεσθαι δὲ οὔπω τἀληθῆ δυναμένῳ ταῦτα ἐποχετεύειν, ὥσπερ ἄρδοντες ἄρουραν διψῶσαν, ἵνα δὴ οἶμαι αὐτῶν τὸν γαργαλισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην παραμυθήσωνται.

Τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου προβαίνοντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς 207
Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, εἴλκυσαν ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν αἶνον, ὃς τοῦ μύθου διαφέρει τῷ μὴ πρὸς παῖδας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄνδρας πεποιῆσθαι καὶ μὴ ψυχαγωγίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραίνεσιν ἔχειν τινά. βούλεται γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος παραινεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὅταν ὁ λέγων τὸ φανερῶς εἰπεῖν εὐλαβῆται, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων ὑφορώμενος B ἀπέχθειαν. οὕτω τοι καὶ Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸ φαίνεται πεποιηκώς· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀρχίλοχος ὥσπερ ἥδυσμά τι περιτιθεὶς τῇ ποιήσει, μύθοις οὐκ ὀλιγάκις ἐχρήσατο ὁρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπό-

[1] αὐτοῖς Wright, αὐτῷ Hertlein, MSS.
[2] προσαρτῶσι Hertlein suggests, προσαρτᾶν MSS.

births, mere phantoms and shadows so to speak of true science. And thus instead of genuine science they profess false doctrines, and are very zealous in learning and teaching such doctrines, as though forsooth they were something useful and admirable. But if I am bound to say something in defence of those who originally invented myths, I think they wrote them for childish souls: and I liken them to nurses who hang leathern toys to the hands of children when they are irritated by teething, in order to ease their suffering: so those mythologists wrote for the feeble soul whose wings are just beginning to sprout, and who, though still incapable of being taught the truth, is yearning for further knowledge, and they poured in a stream of myths like men who water a thirsty field, so as to soothe their irritation and pangs.[1]

Then when the myth was gaining ground and coming into favour in Greece, poets developed from it the fable with a moral, which differs from the myth in that the latter is addressed to children and the former to men, and is designed not merely to entertain them but conveys moral exhortation besides. For the man who employs fable aims at moral exhortation and instruction, though he conceals his aim and takes care not to speak openly, for fear of alienating his hearers. Hesiod, for instance, seems to have written with this in view. And after him Archilochus often employed myths,[2] adorning and as it were seasoning his poetry with them, probably because he

[1] The whole passage echoes Plato, *Phaedrus* 251.

[2] Cf. Archilochus *frr.* 86, 89; Archilochus used the beast-fable or parable: Julian here ignores his own distinction and uses the wider term 'myth.' Hesiod used myth as well as fable.

θεσιν, ἣν μετῄει, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσαν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνωκώς, ὅτι στερομένη μύθου ποίησις ἐποποιΐα μόνον ἐστίν, ἐστέρηται δέ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἑαυτῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται ποίησις, ἡδύσματα ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἐδρέψατο, καὶ παρέθηκέ γε αὐτοῦ τούτου χάριν, C ὅπως μὴ σιλλογράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητὴς νομισθείη.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν μύθων Ὅμηρος ἢ Θουκυδίδης ἢ Πλάτων, ἢ ὅ, τι βούλει καλεῖν αὐτόν, Αἴσωπος ἦν ὁ Σάμιος, δοῦλος τὴν τύχην[1] μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐκ ἄφρων μὴν[2] οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀνήρ. ᾧ γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὐ μετεδίδου παρρησίας, τούτῳ προσῆκον ἦν ἐσκιαγραφημένας τὰς συμβουλὰς καὶ πεποικιλμένας ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι παραφέρειν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττουσιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἅμα τις οἰκέτης γένηται τὴν D τύχην καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἰατρός, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεύειν ἅμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνὶ προσήκει ταύτης τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφέτω, παραχωρείτω τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁστισοῦν, εἰ δὲ μόνος εἶναί φησιν ἐλεύθερος, ἐπὶ τί χρήσεται τοῖς μύθοις, οὐκ οἶδα. πότερον ἵνα τὸ πικρὸν καὶ δάκνον τῆς συμβουλῆς ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι κεράσας ἅμα τε ὀνήσῃ καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ 208 προσλαβεῖν τι παρὰ τοῦ ὀνιαμένου κακόν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι λίαν δουλοπρεπές. ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἄν τις διδαχθείη μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκούων αὐτὰ μηδὲ

[1] τὴν τύχην Cobet, οὐ τὴν τύχην Hertlein, MSS.
[2] μὴν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.

saw that his subject matter needed something of this sort to make it attractive, and he well knew that poetry without myth is merely versification[1] and lacks, one may say, its essential characteristic, and so ceases to be poetry at all. Therefore he culled these sweets from the Muse of Poetry and offered them to his readers, in order that he might not be ranked merely as a writer of satire but might be counted a poet.

But the Homer of myths, or their Thucydides, or Plato, or whatever we must call him, was Aesop of Samos, who was a slave by the accident of birth rather than by temperament, and he proved his sagacity by this very use of fable. For since the law did not allow him freedom of speech, he had no resource but to shadow forth his wise counsels and trick them out with charms and graces and so serve them up to his hearers. Just so, I think, physicians who are free-born men prescribe what is necessary, but when a man happens to be a slave by birth and a physician by profession, he is forced to take pains to flatter and cure his master at the same time. Now if our Cynic also is subject to this sort of slavery, let him recite myths, let him write them, and let everyone else under the sun leave to him the *rôle* of mythologist. But since he asserts that he alone is free, I do not know what need he has of myths. Does he need to temper the harshness and severity of his advice with sweetness and charm, so that he may at once benefit mankind and avoid being harmed by one whom he has benefited? Nay, that is too much like a slave. Moreover, would any man be better taught by not

[1] Plato, *Phaedo* 61 B.

τὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλ᾽ ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν δεῖνος τὸν Φαέθοντα τί[1] δέον ὀνομάσαι; τί δὲ B χραίνειν οὐκ εὐαγῶς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου; τίς δὲ ὁ Πὰν καὶ τίς ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων ἀνθρώπων ἄξιος καλεῖσθαι, ἵν᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μεταθῶμεν ἡμῶν τὰς διανοίας; καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο οἷόν τε ἦν, ἄμεινον ἦν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω κρεῖττον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπικὰ θεμένους ὀνόματα; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ θεμένους, ἤρκει γὰρ ὅσαπερ ἡμῖν οἱ γονεῖς C ἔθεντο. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μήτε μαθεῖν ἐστι ῥᾷον[2] διὰ τοῦ πλάσματος μήτε τῷ Κυνικῷ πρέπον πλάττειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐφεισάμεθα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς ἀναλώματος, πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐφθείραμεν τὸν χρόνον πλάττοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθάρια, εἶτα λογογραφοῦντες καὶ ἐκμανθάνοντες;

Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως ὁ μὲν λόγος οὔ φησι δεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν καὶ μὴ πεπλασμένων τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ πε- D πλασμένα παρὰ τοῦ κυνός, ᾧ μόνῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μέτεστιν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄδεσθαι συλλόγοις, ἡ συνήθεια δὲ οὕτω[3] γέγονεν ἀπὸ Διογένους ἀρξαμένη καὶ Κράτητος ἄχρι τῶν ἐφεξῆς. οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ παράδειγμα τοιοῦτον εὑρήσεις· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἀφίημι τέως, ὅτι τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράττοντι

[1] τί δέον ὀνομάσαι; τί Reiske, δέον ὀνομάσαι, τὸν Hertlein MSS.
[2] ῥᾷον Hertlein suggests, ῥᾴδιον MSS.
[3] οὕτω Hertlein suggests, αὐτῷ MSS.

hearing facts as they really are, or called by their real names, like the comic poet who calls a spade a spade?[1] What need to speak of Phaethon instead of So-and-so? What need sacrilegiously to profane the title of King Helios? Who among men that walk here below[2] is worthy to be called Pan or Zeus, as though we should ascribe to those gods our human understanding? And yet if indeed this were possible it would have been better to give the men their own names. Would it not have been better to speak of them thus and to bestow on them human names, or rather not bestow, for those that our parents gave us were enough? Well then if it is neither easier to learn by means of fiction, nor appropriate for the Cynic to invent that sort of thing at all, why did we not spare that wasteful expense,[3] and moreover why did we waste our time in inventing and composing trivial myths and then making stories of them and learning them by heart?

But perhaps you will say that though reason asserts that the Cynic, who alone of men can claim to be free, ought not to invent and compose lying fictions instead of the unvarnished truth and then recite these in public assemblies, nevertheless the custom began with Diogenes and Crates, and has been maintained from that time by all Cynics. My answer is that nowhere will you find a single example of such a custom. For the moment I do not insist on the fact that it in no wise becomes a Cynic who must "give a new stamp to the common currency"[4]

[1] Literally a boat: a proverb; *Anonym. Com. Gr. Frag.* 199. [2] *Iliad* 5. 442; Hesiod, *Theogony* 272.

[3] An echo of Plutarch, *Antonius* 28: τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ὡς Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν, ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον.

[4] Cf. *Oration* 6. 188 A, B.

τῇ συνηθείᾳ προσέχειν οὐδαμῶς προσήκει, τῷ
λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὑρίσκειν 209
οἴκοθεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μανθάνειν ἔξωθεν. εἰ δ᾽ Ἀντι-
σθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὥσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔνια
διὰ τῶν μύθων ἀπήγγελλε, μήτι[1] τοῦτό σε ἐξα-
πατάτω· καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπὲρ τούτου σοι
διαλέξομαι·[2] νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνό μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
φράσον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοιά τίς
ἐστι καὶ βίος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης
ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδὲν καλόν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον
οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν νομιζούσης; δοίη γὰρ ἂν ὑπολα- B
βεῖν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. εἴ τί
σοι τοῦ ταῦτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνως
ἂν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῷ
κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς οἷς
ἔγραψεν ὁ ἀνήρ. τοιούτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πράγμα-
τος, ὥστε ἀνῃρῆσθαι μὲν ἅπασαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν, ἠτιμάσθαι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην
φρόνησιν, νόμον δὲ μὴ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ καλῷ καὶ
δικαίῳ πεπατῆσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν C
θεῶν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ἐγγραφέντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑφ᾽
ὧν πάντες ἀδιδάκτως εἶναι θεῖόν τι πεπείσμεθα
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτό τε οἶμαι σπεύδειν
οὕτω διατιθέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὥσπερ
οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ εἰ
καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξελαύνοιτο νόμος ἱερὸς ὢν φύσει
καὶ θεῖος, ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πάντη καὶ πάντως

[1] μήτι Cobet μήτοι Hertlein, MSS.
[2] διαλέξομαι Cobet, διηγήσομαι Spanheim, Hertlein, V illegible.

to pay any attention to custom, but only to pure reason, and he ought to discover within himself what is right for him to do and not learn it from without. And do not be misled by the fact that Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates, and Xenophon too, sometimes expressed themselves by means of myths; for I shall have something to say to you on this point in a moment. But now in the Muses' name answer me this question about the Cynic philosophy. Are we to think it a sort of madness, a method of life not suitable for a human being, but rather a brutal attitude of mind which recks naught of the beautiful, the honourable, or the good? For Oenomaus[1] would make many people hold this view of it. If you had taken any trouble to study the subject, you would have learned this from that Cynic's "Direct Inspiration of Oracles" and his work "Against the Oracles," in short from everything that he wrote. This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods, and have impelled us all to believe without teaching that the divine exists, and to direct our eyes to it and to yearn towards it: for our souls are disposed towards it as eyes towards the light. Furthermore, suppose that one should discard also that second law which is sanctified both by nature and by God, I mean the law that bids us keep our hands altogether and utterly from the property of

[1] Cf. *Oration* 6. 187 c.

ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύων καὶ μήτε ἐν λόγῳ μήτε ἐν ἔργῳ
μήτε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς λανθανούσαις τῆς ψυχῆς D
ἐνεργείαις ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπων συγχεῖν, ὅσπερ ἡμῖν
καὶ τῆς τελειοτάτης ἐστὶν ἡγεμὼν δικαιοσύνης·
ἆρ' οὐκ ἔστι βαράθρου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄξιον; ἆρ' οὐ
τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντας ὥσπερ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς
ἐχρῆν οὐ θύσθλοις παιομένους[1] ἐλαύνεσθαι·
κουφοτέρα γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἡ ζημία·
λίθοις δὲ βαλλομένους ἀπολωλέναι; διαφέρουσι
γὰρ οὗτοι τί, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἐπ' 210
ἐρημίας λῃστευόντων καὶ κατειληφότων τὰς
ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς καταπλέουσι;
καταφρονοῦντες θανάτου, φασίν· ὥσπερ οὐ
κἀκείνοις συνομαρτούσης ταυτησὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.
φησὶ γοῦν ὁ καθ' ὑμᾶς μὲν ποιητὴς καὶ μυθολόγος,
ὡς δὲ ὁ Πύθιος λῃσταῖς χρωμένοις ἀνεῖλεν, ἥρως
καὶ δαίμων, ὑπὲρ τῶν λῃζομένων τὴν θάλατταν

Οἷά τε λιστῆρες, ὑπείρ ἄλα τοί τ' ἀλόωνται
Ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι. B

τί οὖν ἔτι ἕτερον ζητεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν
λῃστῶν μάρτυρα; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀνδρειοτέρους
ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν τοιούτων κυνῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς
λῃστάς, ἰταμωτέρους δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν ἐκείνων τοὺς
κύνας τουτουσί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνειδότες αὑτοῖς
οὕτω μοχθηρὸν τὸν βίον οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ
θανάτου δέος ἢ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὰς ἐρημίας προ-
βάλλονται, οἱ δ' ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν[2] ἐν τῷ μέσῳ C
τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα συγχέοντες, οὐχὶ τῷ κρείττονα

[1] παιομένους Cobet, πολεμουμένους Hertlein, MSS.
[2] ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφονται καὶ περιπατοῦσιν Cobet, ἀναπατοῦσιν MSS.

others, and permits us neither by word or deed or in the inmost and secret activities of our souls to confound such distinctions, since the law is our guide to the most perfect justice—is not this conduct worthy of the pit?[1] And ought not those who applauded such views to have been driven forth, not by blows with wands, like scapegoats,[2] for that penalty is too light for such crimes, but put to death by stoning? For tell me, in Heaven's name, how are such men less criminal than bandits who infest lonely places and haunt the coasts in order to despoil navigators? Because, as people say, they despise death; as though bandits were not inspired by the same frenzied courage! So says at any rate he[3] who with you counts as a poet and mythologist, though, as a Pythian god proclaimed to certain bandits who sought his oracle, he was a hero and divinity—I mean where, speaking of pirates of the sea, he says: "Like pirates who wander over the sea, staking their lives."[4] What better witness can you require for the desperate courage of bandits? Except indeed that one might say that bandits are more courageous than Cynics of this sort, while the Cynics are more reckless than they. For pirates, well aware as they are how worthless is the life they lead, take cover in desert places as much from shame as from the fear of death: whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society, and that not

[1] The pit or chasm at Athens into which the bodies of criminals were thrown; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1. 7. 20.

[2] For the ceremony of driving out the scapegoat see Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion* 97; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. 3, p. 93. [3] *i.e.* Homer. [4] *Odyssey* 3. 73.

καὶ καθαρωτέραν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χείρονα καὶ βδελυρωτέραν ἐπεισάγειν πολιτείαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγῳδίας, οὔσας μὲν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως [1] Κυνικοῦ τινος συγγράμματα, ἀμφισβητουμένας δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον, εἴτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰσίν, D εἴτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλίσκου, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπελθὼν βδελύξαιτο καὶ νομίσειεν ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητουργίας οὐδὲ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἀπολελεῖφθαι; ταῖς Οἰνομάου δὲ ἐντυχών· ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθ' ὅ, τι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἔχω, κἂν τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά, κἂν τὸ Τερμέριον, κἂν πᾶσαν ἁπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθέγξωμαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου 211 καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, οὕτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἀνδρὶ πεφιλοτέχνηται· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τούτων τις ἀξιοῖ τὸν Κυνισμὸν ὁποῖός τίς ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεούς, ὑλακτῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὅπερ ἔφην ἀρχόμενος, ἴτω, χωρείτω,[2] γῆν πρὸ γῆς, ὅποι βούλοιτο· εἰ δ', ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλὴν τρέποιτο, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ ζηλώσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τοῦτο ἤδη τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον ἔγωγε φαίην ἂν ἀνδρὶ καὶ

[1] ὁμολογουμένως Cobet, ὁμολογουμένας Hertlein, MSS.
[2] χωρείτω Hertlein suggests, χαιρέτω MSS.

by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state.

Now as for the tragedies ascribed to Diogenes, which are, and are admitted to be, the composition of some Cynic—the only point in dispute being whether they are by the master himself, Diogenes, or by his disciple Philiscus,—what reader of these would not abhor them, and find in them an excess of infamy not to be surpassed even by courtesans? However, let him go on to read the tragedies of Oenomaus—for he too wrote tragedies to match his discourses—and he will find that they are more inconceivably infamous, that they transgress the very limits of evil; in fact I have no words to describe them adequately, and in vain should I cite in comparison the horrors of Magnesia,[1] the wickedness of Termerus [2] or the whole of tragedy put together, along with satiric drama, comedy and the mime: with such art has their author displayed in those works every conceivable vileness and folly in their most extreme form.

Now if from such works any man chooses to demonstrate to us the character of the Cynic philosophy, and to blaspheme the gods and bark at all men, as I said when I began, let him go, let him depart to the uttermost parts of the earth whithersoever he pleases. But if he do as the god enjoined on Diogenes, and first "give a new stamp to the common currency," then devote himself to the advice uttered earlier by the god, the precept "Know Thyself," which Diogenes and Crates evidently followed in their actual practice, then I say that this is wholly worthy of one who desires to be a

[1] A proverb; cf. Archilochus *fr.* 27, Bergk.
[2] A robber whom Theseus killed; Plutarch, *Theseus* 11.

στρατηγεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλοντι. τί δὲ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ἆρ' ἴσμεν; ὅτι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτῷ δόξης ἐπέταξεν ὑπεροράν καὶ παραχαράττειν οὐ τὴν C ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἐν ποτέρᾳ θησόμεθα μοίρᾳ; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομίσματος; ἢ τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ τρόπον εἰρῆσθαι τοῦ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς[1] Γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἀποφάσεως; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομιζόμενα παντάπασιν ἀτιμάσας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἥκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς νομιζομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὄντως οὖσι θήσεται, οὕτως οἶμαι καὶ ὁ γνοὺς D ἑαυτὸν ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς εἴσεται καὶ οὐχ ὅπερ νομίζεται. πότερον οὖν οὐχ ὁ Πύθιος ἀληθής τέ ἐστι θεός, καὶ Διογένης τοῦτο ἐπέπειστο σαφῶς, ὅς γε αὐτῷ πεισθεὶς ἀντὶ φυγάδος ἀπεδείχθη οὐ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλ', ὡς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτῷ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὸ Περσῶν κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλέους ἁμιλλωμένῳ πράξεσιν, ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φιλοτιμουμένῳ ζηλωτός; οὗτος οὖν ὁ Διογένης ὁποῖός τις ἦν τά τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μὴ διὰ 212 τῶν Οἰνομάου λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου τραγῳδιῶν, αἷς ἐπιγράψας τὸ Διογένους ὄνομα τῆς θείας πολλά ποτε κατεψεύσατο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν ἔδρασεν ἔργων ὁποῖός τις ἦν γνωριζέσθω.

Ἦλθεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τί πρὸς Διός; ἵνα τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς θεάσηται; τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίοις

[1] τῆς Cobet, τῆς τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.

leader and a philosopher. For surely we know what the god meant? He enjoined on Diogenes to despise the opinion of the crowd and to give a new stamp, not to truth, but to the common currency. Now to which of these categories shall we assign self-knowledge? Can we call it common currency? Shall we not rather say that it is the very summary of truth, and by the injunction "Know Thyself" we are told the way in which we must "give a new stamp to the common currency"? For just as one who pays no regard whatever to conventional opinions but goes straight for the truth will not decide his own conduct by those opinions but by actual facts, so I think he who knows himself will know accurately, not the opinion of others about him, but what he is in reality. It follows then, does it not? that the Pythian god speaks the truth, and moreover that Diogenes was clearly convinced of this since he obeyed the god and so became, instead of an exile, I will not say greater than the King of Persia, but according to the tradition handed down actually an object of envy to the man[1] who had broken the power of Persia and was rivalling the exploits of Heracles and ambitious to surpass Achilles. Then let us judge of the attitude of Diogenes towards gods and men, not from the discourses of Oenomaus or the tragedies of Philiscus—who by ascribing their authorship to Diogenes grossly slandered that sacred personage—but let us, I say, judge him by his deeds.

Why in the name of Zeus did he go to Olympia? To see the athletes compete? Nay, could he not have seen those very athletes without trouble both at

[1] *i.e.* Alexander.

τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ Παναθηναίοις θεάσασθαι δίχα πραγμάτων οἷόν τε ἦν; ἀλλὰ ἐθέλων ἐκεῖ τοῖς κρατίστοις συγγενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐ γὰρ B Ἰσθμόνδε ἐφοίτων; οὐκ ἂν οὖν εὕροις ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἢ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείαν. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐξεπλάγη τὸν κεραυνόν· οὐδὲ ἐγὼ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πολλῶν πολλάκις πειραθεὶς διοσημιῶν ἐξεπλάγην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω δή τι τοὺς θεοὺς πέφρικα καὶ φιλῶ καὶ σέβω καὶ ἄζομαι καὶ πάνθ' ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάσχω, ὅσαπερ ἄν τις καὶ οἷα πρὸς ἀγαθοὺς δεσπότας, πρὸς διδασκάλους, πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας, πρὸς πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥστε ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ῥημά- C των πρῴην ἐξανέστην. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅντινα τρόπον ἐπελθὸν ἴσως σιωπᾶσθαι δέον ἐρρέθη.

Διογένης δὲ καὶ πένης ὢν καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεὴς εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐβάδιζεν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἥκειν ἐκέλευε παρ' ἑαυτόν, εἴ τῳ πιστὸς ὁ Δίων. οὕτω πρέπειν ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ D τῶν θεῶν, τῷ βασιλικωτάτῳ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνουσίαν. ἃ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρχίδαμον γέγραφεν, οὐ βασιλικαὶ παραινέσεις εἰσίν; οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἦν ὁ Διογένης θεοσεβής, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. ἑλόμενον γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰκεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἀπήγαγεν, ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πριαμένου τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτ' ᾠήθη δεῖν ἐκλιπεῖν· ἐπέπειστο 213 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς μέλειν εἴς τε τὴν Κόρινθον οὐ

the Isthmian games and the Panathenaic festival? Then was it because he wished to meet there the most distinguished Greeks? But did they not go to the Isthmus too? So you cannot discover any other motive than that of doing honour to the god. He was not, you say, awestruck by a thunderstorm. Ye gods, I too have witnessed such signs from Zeus over and over again, without being awestruck! Yet for all that I feel awe of the gods, I love, I revere, I venerate them, and in short have precisely the same feelings towards them as one would have towards kind masters [1] or teachers or fathers or guardians or any beings of that sort. That is the very reason why I could hardly sit still the other day and listen to your speech. However, I have spoken thus as I was somehow or other impelled to speak, though perhaps it would have been better to say nothing at all.

To return to Diogenes: he was poor and lacked means, yet he travelled to Olympia, though he bade Alexander come to him, if we are to believe Dio.[2] So convinced was he that it was his duty to visit the temples of the gods, but that it was the duty of the most royal monarch of that day to come to him for an interview. And was not that royal advice which he wrote to Archidamus? Nay, not only in words but in deeds also did Diogenes show his reverence for the gods. For he preferred to live in Athens, but when the divine command had sent him away to Corinth, even after he had been set free by the man who had bought him, he did not think he ought to leave that city. For he believed that the gods took care of him, and that he had been sent to Corinth,

[1] Plato, *Phaedo* 63 c.
[2] Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 4. 12, Arnim.

μάτην οὐδὲ κατά τινα συντυχίαν, τρόπον δέ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσπεπέμφθαι, ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν τρυφῶσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων μᾶλλον καὶ δεομένην μείζονος καὶ γενναιοτέρου σωφρονιστοῦ.

Τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Κράτητος μουσικὰ καὶ χαρίεντα φέρεται πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσιότητός τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἄκουε γοῦν αὐτὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, εἴ σοι μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν B ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτά.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλῦτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ·
Χόρτον ἐμῇ συνεχῇ δότε γαστέρι, καὶ δότε χωρὶς
Δουλοσύνης, ἣ δὴ λιτὸν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὠφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, καν- C
θάρου ὄλβον
Μύρμηκός τ' ἄφενος χρήματα μαιόμενος,
Ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγείρειν[1]
Εὔφορον, εὔκτητον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχὼν Ἑρμῆν καὶ Μούσας ἱλάσομ' ἁγνάς.
Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὁσίαις. D

ὁρᾷς ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐφημῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ ὡς σὺ βλασφημῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ηὔχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἑκατόμβαι τῆς ὁσίας εἰσὶν ἀντάξιαι, ἣν καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος Εὐριπίδης ὀρθῶς ὕμνησεν εἰπὼν

Ὁσία πότνα θεῶν, ὁσία;

[1] ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀσινῆ Hertlein, MSS.

not at random or by some accident, but by the gods themselves for some purpose. He saw that Corinth was more luxurious than Athens, and stood in need of a more severe and courageous reformer.

To give you another instance: Are there not extant many charming poems by Crates also which are proofs of his piety and veneration for the gods? I will repeat them to you if you have not had time to learn this from the poems themselves:

"Ye Muses of Pieria, glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, grant me this prayer! Give me food for my belly from day to day, but give it without slavery which makes life miserable indeed. . . . . Make me useful rather than agreeable to my friends. Treasure and the fame thereof I desire not to amass; nor do I crave the wealth of the beetle and the substance of the ant. But justice I desire to attain, and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, precious for virtue. If I attain these things I will worship Hermes and the holy Muses, not with costly and luxurious offerings, but with pious and virtuous actions." [1]

You see that, far from blaspheming the gods as you do, he adored and prayed to them? For what number of hecatombs are worth as much as Piety, whom the inspired Euripides celebrated appropriately in the verses "Piety, queen of the gods, Piety"? [2]

[1] Cf. *Oration* 6. 199 D. [2] *Bacchae* 370.

ἢ τοῦτό σε λέληθεν, ὅτι πάντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ σμικρά, μετὰ τῆς ὁσίας τοῖς θεοῖς προσαγόμενα τὴν ἴσην ἔχει δύναμιν, ἐστερημένη δὲ τῆς ὁσίας οὐχ ἑκατόμβη μὰ θεούς, ἀλλὰ ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χιλιόμβη ἀνάλωμα μόνον ἐστίν, ἄλλο δὲ 214
οὐδέν; ὅπερ οἶμαι γιγνώσκων ὁ Κράτης αὐτός τε διὰ μόνης ἧς εἶχεν ὁσίας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐτίμα σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανήματα τῆς ὁσίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐκείνων προτιμᾶν ἐν ταῖς ἁγιστείαις. τοιούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τώδε γενομένῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀκροατήρια συνεκροτείτην[1] οὐδ' ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ δι' εἰκόνων καὶ μύθων τοῖς φίλοις συνεγιγνέσθην·[2] λέγεται γὰρ ὑπ' Εὐριπίδου καλῶς B

Ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ·

σκιαγραφίας γάρ φησι τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ ἄδικον δεῖσθαι. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς τῆς συνουσίας ἐγίνετο; τῶν λόγων ἡγεῖτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι φαίνονται[3] καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ὑπεριδόντες, οἱ τὴν ἀτυφίαν ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἤσκουν διὰ C
πάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐξαιροῦντες βίων ᾤκουν αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τὰς ἀγορὰς ἢ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμένη, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ῥημάτων διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπολέμουν, ἔργοις ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγῳ βοῶντες, ὅτι τῷ Διὶ συμβασιλεύειν ἔξεστιν οὐδενὸς ἢ σμικρῶν πάνυ

[1] *συνεκροτείτην* Cobet, Hertlein approves, *συνεκροτεῖτον* MSS.

[2] *συνεγιγνέσθην* Cobet, Hertlein approves, *συνεγίγνεσθον* MSS. [3] *φαίνονται* Hertlein suggests, *ἐφαίνοντο* MSS.

Or are you not aware that all offerings whether great or small that are brought to the gods with piety have equal value, whereas without piety, I will not say hecatombs, but, by the gods, even the Olympian sacrifice[1] of a thousand oxen is merely empty expenditure and nothing else?[2] This I believe Crates recognised, and so with that piety which was his only possession he himself used to honour the gods with praises, and moreover taught others not to honour expensive offerings more than piety in the sacred ceremonies. This then was the attitude of both those Cynics towards the gods but they did not crowd audiences together to hear them, nor did they entertain their friends with similes and myths, like the wise men of to-day. For as Euripides well says,[3] "Simple and unadorned is the language of truth." Only the liar and the dishonest man, he says, have any use for a mysterious and allusive style. Now what was the manner of their intercourse with men? Deeds with them came before words, and if they honoured poverty they themselves seem first to have scorned inherited wealth; if they cultivated modesty, they themselves first practised plain living in every respect; if they tried to expel from the lives of other men the element of theatrical display and arrogance, they themselves first set the example by living in the open market places and the temple precincts, and they opposed luxury by their own practice before they did so in words; nor did they shout aloud but proved by their actions that a man may rule as the equal of Zeus if he needs nothing or very little and so is not

[1] *i.e.* in honour of Olympian Zeus.
[2] Cf. Themistius 182 A. [3] *Phoenissae* 472.

δεόμενον οὐδὲ παρενοχλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπετίμων δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ἡνίκα ἔζων οἱ πταίσαντες, οὐκ ἀποθανόντας ἐβλασφήμουν, ἡνίκα D καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ μετριώτεροι σπένδονται τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ ὅ γε ἀληθινὸς κύων ἐχθρὸν οὐδένα, κἂν τὸ σωμάτιον αὐτοῦ τις πατάξῃ, κἂν τοὔνομα περιέλκῃ, κἂν λοιδορῆται καὶ βλασφημῇ, διότι τὸ μὲν τῆς ἔχθρας γίνεται πρὸς ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν πρὸς ἕτερον ἄμιλλαν εὐνοίᾳ τιμᾶσθαι φιλεῖ· κἄν τις 215 ἑτέρως ἔχῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, καθάπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐχθρός, οὐδὲ γὰρ βλαβερός, αὐτὸς δὲ αὑτῷ βαρύτατον ἐπιτιθεὶς[1] τίμημα τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος ἄγνοιαν ἔρημος λείπεται τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας.

Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν νῦν μοι προύκειτο περὶ Κυνισμοῦ γράφειν, εἶπον ἂν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔτι τὰ παριστάμενά B μοι τῶν εἰρημένων ἴσως οὐκ ἐλάττω· νῦν δὲ ἀποδιδόντες τὸ συνεχὲς τῇ προαιρέσει περὶ τοῦ ποταποὺς εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς πλαττομένους τῶν μύθων ἐφεξῆς σκοπῶμεν. ἴσως δὲ ἡγεῖται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκείνη, ὁποίᾳ τινὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσῆκον ἡ μυθογραφία. φαίνονται γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν θεολόγων ποιήσαντες, ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς μὲν ὁ παλαιότατος ἐνθέως φιλοσοφήσας, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον· C οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν φαίνεται καὶ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Πλάτων προσχρησάμενοι πολλαχοῦ τοῖς μύθοις, ὥσθ' ἡμῖν πέφηνεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ Κυνικῷ, φιλοσόφῳ γοῦν τινι προσήκειν ἡ μυθογραφία.

[1] ἐπιτιθεὶς Hertlein suggests, ἐπιθεὶς MSS.

hampered by his body; and they reproved sinners during the lifetime of those who had offended but did not speak ill of the dead; for when men are dead even their enemies, at least the more moderate, make peace with the departed. But the genuine Cynic has no enemy, even though men strike his feeble body or drag his name in the mire, or slander and speak ill of him, because enmity is felt only towards an opponent, but that which is above personal rivalry is usually loved and respected. But if anyone is hostile to a Cynic, as indeed many are even to the gods, he is not that Cynic's enemy, since he cannot injure him; rather he inflicts on himself the most terrible punishment of all, namely ignorance of one who is nobler than himself; and so he is deserted and bereft of the other's protection.

Now if my present task were to write about the Cynic philosophy, I could add many details about the Cynics, not less important than what I have said already. But not to interrupt my main theme, I will now consider in due course the question what kind of myths ought to be invented. But perhaps another inquiry should precede this attempt, I mean to what branch of philosophy the composition of myths is appropriate. For we see that many philosophers and theologians too have employed it, Orpheus for instance, the most ancient of all the inspired philosophers, and many besides of those that came after him. Nay what is more, Xenophon as we know and Antisthenes and Plato often introduced myths, so that it is obvious that even if the use of myth be not appropriate for the Cynic, still it may be so for some other type of philosopher.

Μικρὰ οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἴτε μορίων εἴτε ὀργάνων προρρητέον.[1] ἔστι γὰρ οὐ μέγα τὸ διαφέρον ὁποτέρως ἄν τις τῷ πρακτικῷ[2] καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ τὸ λογικὸν προσαριθμῇ· ἀναγ- D καῖον γὰρ ὁμοίως φαίνεται κατ' ἀμφότερα. τριῶν δὴ τούτων αὖθις ἕκαστον εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν γινομένων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν ἀιδίων μέν, σωμάτων δὲ ὅμως θεωρίαν, τί τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία ἑκάστου· τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα, ἠθικόν, οἰκονομικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν, πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλιν· ἔτι μέντοι τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων βιαστικόν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216 φαινομένων ἐνδόξων παραλογιστικόν. ὄντων δὴ τοσούτων τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εἰ μή τί με λέληθε· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα στρατιώτην μὴ λίαν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδ' ἐξονυχίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἅτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἀσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προστυχούσης αὐτὰ ἕξεως ἀποφθεγγόμενον· ἔσεσθε γοῦν μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, εἰ τὰς ἡμέρας λογίσαισθε,[3] πόσαι τινές εἰσιν αἱ μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἔναγχος ἡμῖν γενομένης ἀκροάσεως ὅσων τε ἡμῖν ἀσχολιῶν πλήρεις· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, εἰ καί B τι παραλέλειπται παρ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι νομίζω γε μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν· πλὴν ὁ προστιθεὶς οὐκ ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ φίλος ἔσται.

[1] προρρητέον Reiske, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
[2] τῷ πρακτικῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ τε ἠθικῷ MSS.
[3] λογίσαισθε Cobet, λογίσεσθε Hertlein, MSS.

I must first then say a few words about the subdivisions or instruments of philosophy. It does not make much difference in which of two ways one reckons logic, whether with practical or natural philosophy, since it is equally necessary to both these branches. But I will consider these as three separate branches and assign to each one three subdivisions. Natural philosophy consists of theology, mathematics, and thirdly the study of this world of generation and decay and things that though imperishable are nevertheless matter, and deals with their essential nature and their substance in each case. Practical philosophy again consists of ethics in so far as it deals with the individual man, economics when it deals with the household as a unit, politics when it deals with the state. Logic, again, is demonstrative in so far as it deals with the truth of principles; polemic when it deals with general opinions; eristic when it deals with opinions that only seem probabilities. These then are the divisions of philosophy, if I mistake not. Though indeed it would not be surprising that a mere soldier should be none too exact in these matters or not have them at his fingers' ends, seeing that I speak less from book-knowledge than from observation and experience. For that matter you can yourselves bear me witness thereto, if you count up how few days have elapsed between the lecture that we lately heard and to-day, and moreover the number of affairs with which they have been filled for me. But as I said if I have omitted anything—though I do not think I have—still if anyone can make my classification more complete he will be "no enemy but my friend."[1]

[1] Plato, *Timaeus* 54 A.

Τούτων δὴ τῶν μερῶν οὔτε τῷ λογικῷ προσήκει τῆς μυθογραφίας οὔτε τοῦ φυσικοῦ[1] τῷ μαθηματικῷ, μόνον δέ, εἴπερ ἄρα, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἕνα γινομένῳ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ τῷ τελεστικῷ καὶ μυστικῷ· φιλεῖ γὰρ C ἡ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνοῖς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοὰς ῥίπτεσθαι ῥήμασιν. ὅπερ δὲ δὴ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητος φύσις ὠφελεῖν πέφυκε καὶ ἀγνοουμένη· θεραπεύει γοῦν οὐ ψυχὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματα, καὶ θεῶν ποιεῖ παρουσίας· τοῦτ' οἶμαι πολλάκις γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν μύθων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοὰς οὐ D δυναμένας τὰ θεῖα καθαρῶς δέξασθαι δι' αἰνιγμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μύθων σκηνοποιίας ἐγχέηται.

Φανεροῦ δὲ ἤδη γενομένου τίνι καὶ ποίῳ φιλοσοφίας εἴδει καὶ μυθογραφεῖν ἔσθ' ὅτε προσήκει· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις ἡ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτωνι πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου πραγμάτων θεολογοῦντι καὶ πρό γε τούτου τῷ τῆς Καλλιόπης, Ἀντισθένει δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι 217 καὶ αὐτῷ Πλάτωνι πραγματευομένοις ἠθικάς τινας ὑποθέσεις οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ μετά τινος ἐμμελείας ἡ τῶν μύθων ἐγκαταμέμικται γραφή, οὓς σ'[2] ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ ἐβούλου, μιμούμενον ἀντὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέους μεταλαμβάνειν Περσέως ἢ Θησέως

[1] τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ φυσικῷ οὔτε MSS.
[2] σ' ἐχρῆν Hertlein suggests, ἐχρῆν MSS.

Now of these branches of philosophy, logic has no concern with the composition of myths; nor has mathematics, the sub-division of natural philosophy; but they may be employed, if at all, by that department of practical philosophy which deals with the individual man, and by that department of theology which has to do with initiation and the Mysteries. For nature loves to hide her secrets,[1] and she does not suffer the hidden truth about the essential nature of the gods to be flung in naked words to the ears of the profane. Now there are certain characteristics of ours that derive benefit from that occult and unknown nature, which nourishes not our souls alone but our bodies also, and brings us into the presence of the gods, and this I think often comes about by means of myths; when through riddles and the dramatic setting of myths that knowledge is insinuated into the ears of the multitude who cannot receive divine truths in their purest form.

It is now evident what branch and what sort of philosophy may properly on occasion employ myths. And to support my argument I call to witness the authority of those philosophers who were the first to use myths. Plato for instance in his theological descriptions of life in Hades often uses myths, and the son[2] of Calliope before him. And when Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients, and not casually but of set purpose. Now if you too wished to use myths you ought to have imitated these philosophers, and instead of Heracles you should have introduced the name of

[1] Heracleitus *fr.* 123, Diels; cf. Themistius 69 B.
[2] Orpheus.

τινὸς ὄνομα καὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένειον τύπον ἐγχαράττειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς Προδίκου σκηνοποιίας ἀμφὶ τοῖν ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν θεοῖν ἑτέραν ὁμοίαν εἰσάγειν εἰς B
τὸ θέατρον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν μύθων ἐπεμνήσθην, φέρε νῦν ὁποίους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς ἑκατέρῳ τῶν μερῶν ἁρμόττοντας αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἰδεῖν πειραθῶμεν, οὐκέτι μαρτύρων παλαιῶν ἐν πᾶσι προσδεόμενοι, ἑπόμενοι δὲ νέοις ἴχνεσιν ἀνδρός, ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ἴσης Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτωνι ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε. φησὶ δὲ οὐχ C
ὑπὲρ πάντων οὗτος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τελεστικῶν, οὓς παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Ὀρφεὺς ὁ τὰς ἁγιωτάτας τελετὰς καταστησάμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μύθοις ἀπεμφαῖνον αὐτῷ τούτῳ προοδοποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὅσῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον παράδοξόν ἐστι καὶ τερατῶδες τὸ αἴνιγμα, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε διαμαρτύρεσθαι, μὴ τοῖς αὐτόθεν λεγομένοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ λεληθότα περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἡγε- D
μόσιν ἐκφανῆ γενόμενα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν τελέσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ τελειώσῃ νοῦν καὶ εἴ δή τι κρεῖττον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοῦ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τἀγαθοῦ μοῖρά τις ὀλίγη τὸ πᾶν ἀμερίστως ἔχουσα, τῆς ψυχῆς πλήρωμα καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συνέχουσα

Perseus or Theseus, let us say, and have written in the style of Antisthenes; and in place of the dramatic setting used by Prodicus,[1] in treating of those two gods[2] you should have introduced into your theatre another setting of the same sort.

But since I have mentioned also the myths that are suited to initiation, let us ourselves independently try to see what sort of myths they must be that suit one or the other of those two branches of philosophy;[3] and no longer need we call in the aid of witnesses from the remote past for all points, but we will follow in the fresh footprints of one[4] whom next to the gods I revere and admire, yes, equally with Aristotle and Plato. He does not treat of all kinds of myths but only those connected with initiation into the Mysteries, such as Orpheus, the founder of the most sacred of all the Mysteries, handed down to us. For it is the incongruous element in myths that guides us to the truth.[5] I mean that the more paradoxical and prodigious the riddle is the more it seems to warn us not to believe simply the bare words but rather to study diligently the hidden truth, and not to relax our efforts until under the guidance of the gods those hidden things become plain, and so initiate or rather perfect our intelligence or whatever we possess that is more sublime than the intelligence, I mean that small particle of the One and the Good which contains the whole indivisibly, the complement of the soul, and in the One and the Good comprehends the whole of soul itself

[1] *i.e.* in his allegory the Choice of Heracles; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 1. 2; Julian, *Oration* 2. 56 D.

[2] *i.e.* Pan and Zeus; cf. 208 B.

[3] *i.e.* ethics and theology; cf. 216 B.

[4] Iamblichus; cf. *Oration* 4. 157 D.

[5] Cf. *Oration* 5. 170.

πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξῃρημένης παρουσίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
ἐπῆλθέ μοι βακχεύοντι μανῆναι· τὸν βοῦν δὲ 218
ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ· περὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων γὰρ
οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν. ἀλλά μοι θεοὶ μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ
ὑμῶν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅσοι τέως ἐστὲ τούτων
ἀμύητοι, τὴν ὄνησιν δοῖεν.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι θέμις
καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἀμφοτέροις ἐστί, πᾶς λόγος
ὁ προφερόμενος ἔκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοίας
σύγκειται. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος λόγος
τίς ἐστιν, ἐκ δυοῖν τούτοιν συγκείσεται. σκο- B
πῶμεν δὲ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἔστιν ἁπλῆ τις ἐν
λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα
προάγεται, τὰ παραδείγματα δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐστι
πολλά. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἓν ἁπλοῦν ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν
δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δ' ἐσχηματισμένον ἔχει δια-
φορὰς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλάς, ὧν, εἴ τί σοι τῆς ῥητο-
ρικῆς ἐμέλησεν, οὐκ ἀξύνετος εἶ. τούτων δὴ τῶν
κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἁρμόττει τῷ μύθῳ τὰ
πλεῖστα· πλὴν ἔμοιγε οὔθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὔθ'
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τά γε νῦν ῥητέον, ἀλλ'
ὑπὲρ δυοῖν, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ
τοῦ ἀπεμφαίνοντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ C
τὴν λέξιν γίνεται. μορφοῦται γάρ πως καὶ σχη-
ματίζεται παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένων εἰκῇ μηδ'
ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἑλκόντων συρφετοὺς ῥημάτων
ἐκ τῆς τριόδου· ἀλλὰ τοῖν δυοῖν τούτοιν, ὅταν
μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάττωμεν, σεμνὰ χρὴ πάνυ

through the prevailing and separate and distinct presence of the One. But I was impelled I know not how to rave with his own sacred frenzy when I spoke like this of the attributes of great Dionysus[1]; and now I set an ox on my tongue:[2] for I may not reveal what is too sacred for speech. However, may the gods grant to me and to many of you who have not as yet been initiated into these Mysteries to enjoy the blessings thereof!

And now to confine myself to what is lawful for us, both for me to say and for you to hear. Every discourse that is uttered consists of language and the thought to be expressed. Now a myth is a sort of discourse and so it will consist of these two. Let us consider them separately. In every discourse the thought is of two kinds, either simple or expressed in figures of speech; and there are many examples of both kinds. The one is simple and admits of no variety, but that which is embellished with figures has in itself many possibilities of variation with all of which you are yourself familiar if you have ever studied rhetoric; and most of these figures of thought are suited to myth. However I need not now discuss all or indeed many of them, but only two, that in which the thought is dignified and that in which it is paradoxical. The same rules apply also to diction. For this is given a certain shape and form by those who do not express themselves carelessly or sweep in the refuse of language from the highways like a winter torrent. And now to consider these two types. When we invent myths about sacred things our language must be wholly

[1] Cf. *Oration* 4. 144 A.

[2] A proverb for mysterious silence; cf. Theognis 815; Aesch. *Ag.* 36.

τὰ ῥήματα εἶναι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ καλὴν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πρεπωδεστάτην, τῶν αἰσχρῶν δὲ μηδὲν καὶ βλασφήμων ἢ D δυσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγοὶ θρασύτητος γενώμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἠσεβηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαῖνον εἶναι χρὴ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις, ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ πάντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ θεῖα καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας εἰς δύναμιν ἐστοχασμένα· τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμ- 219
φαῖνον τοῦ χρησίμου γιγνόμενον χάριν ἐγκριτέον, ὡς ἂν μή τινος ὑπομνήσεως ἔξωθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δεόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖεν. ἰδοῦ γὰρ ἔγωγε πολλῶν ἤκουσα λεγόντων ἄνθρωπον μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐπείπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο, θεὸν δὲ διὰ θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὥσπερ τὸν B
δεσπότην Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῆχθαι τοῦ Διός. ἀλλ', ὦ τάν, εἶπον, οὐ ξυνίετε τοῦ μύθου φανερῶς αἰνιττομένου. ποῦ γὰρ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστιν ὥσπερ Ἡρακλέους, οὕτω δὴ[1] καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ὑπερέχον καὶ ἐξῃρημένον, ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ δὲ ὅμως ἔτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως μένουσα καί πως ἀφομοιουμένη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; Ἡρα- C
κλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίον γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ θεῖον ἐπιδοῦναι, καὶ

[1] δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

dignified and the diction must be as far as possible sober, beautiful, and entirely appropriate to the gods; there must be nothing in it base or slanderous or impious, for fear we should lead the common people into this sort of sacrilegious rashness; or rather for fear we should ourselves anticipate the common people in displaying impiety towards the gods. Therefore there must be no incongruous element in diction thus employed, but all must be dignified, beautiful, splendid, divine, pure, and as far as possible in conformity with the essential nature of the gods. But as regards the thought, the incongruous may be admitted, so that under the guidance of the gods men may be inspired to search out and study the hidden meaning, though they must not ask for any hint of the truth from others, but must acquire their knowledge from what is said in the myth itself.[1] For instance I have heard many people say that Dionysus was a mortal man because he was born of Semele, and that he became a god through his knowledge of theurgy and the Mysteries, and like our lord Heracles for his royal virtue was translated to Olympus by his father Zeus. "Nay, my good sir," said I, "do you not perceive that the myth is obviously an allegory?" For in what sense do we regard the "birth" of Heracles, yes, and of Dionysus as well, since in their case birth has superior and surpassing and distinctive elements, even though it still falls within the limits of human nature, and up to a certain point resembles our own? Heracles for instance is said to have been a child, even as we are; his divine body grew gradually; we are informed that he was instructed

[1] Cf. *Oration* 5. 170 B.C.

φοιτῆσαι διδασκάλοις ἱστόρηται, καὶ στρατεύσασθαι λέγεται καὶ κρατῆσαι πάντων, καμεῖν δὲ ὅμως κατὰ[1] τὸ σῶμα. καίτοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνως δὲ ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἀποπνίγων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ παραταττόμενος τὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεῖα, θάλπη καὶ κρυμούς, εἶτα τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις καὶ ἀμαχωτάτοις, ἐνδείᾳ λέγω τροφῆς καὶ ἐρημίᾳ, καὶ τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πορείαν οἶμαι τοῦ πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικος, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ κύλικα εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης νενόμικα. τί γὰρ ἄπορον ἦν Ἡρακλεῖ; τί δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ θείῳ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν λεγομένων τούτων στοιχείων δουλευόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ δημιουργικῇ καὶ τελεσιουργῷ τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; ὃν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεὸν ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενος αὐτοῦ,[2] τῷ κόσμῳ σωτῆρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἶτ' ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνθήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς ἥκειν παρ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδὶ κελεύσας. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἵλεως Ἡρακλῆς εἴη. D 220

Τὰ δὲ τῆς Διονύσου θρυλουμένης μὲν γενέσεως, οὔσης δὲ οὐ γενέσεως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίας ἐκφάνσεως κατὰ τί τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς προσέοικεν; ἡ μήτηρ B

[1] κατὰ Cobet, καὶ Hertlein, MSS.
[2] Cf. *Oration* 4. 149 B.

by teachers;[1] they say that he carried on wars and defeated all his opponents, but for all that his body had to endure weariness. And in fact all this did in his case occur, but on a scale greater than human. For instance, while still in swaddling clothes he strangled the serpents and then opposed himself to the very elements of nature, the extremes of heat and cold and things the most difficult and hardest to contend with, I mean lack of food and loneliness;[2] and then there is his journey over the sea itself in a golden cup,[3] though, by the gods, I do not think it was really a cup, but my belief is that he himself walked on the sea as though it were dry land.[4] For what was impossible to Heracles? Which was there of the so-called elements that did not obey his divine and most pure body since they were subdued to the creative and perfecting force of his stainless and pure intelligence? For him did mighty Zeus, with the aid of Athene goddess of Forethought, beget to be the saviour of the world, and appointed as his guardian this goddess whom he had brought forth whole from the whole of himself; and later on he called him to his side through the flame of a thunderbolt, thus bidding his son to come to him by the divine signal of the ethereal rays of light. Now when we meditate on this, may Heracles be gracious to you and to me!

As for the commonly received legend about the birth of Dionysus, which was in fact no birth but a divine manifestation, in what respect was it like the birth of men? While he was still in his mother's

[1] Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 1. 61, Arnim. [2] Cf. 230 B.
[3] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2; Athenaeus 11. 470.
[4] This is perhaps a passing sneer at the Christians and need not be taken too seriously.

αὐτὸν κύουσα, φασίν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας ζηλοτυπούσης ἐξαπατηθεῖσα τὸν ἐραστὴν ἐξελιπάρησεν ἥκειν, ὡς παρὰ τὴν γαμετὴν εἴωθε φοιτᾶν, πρὸς ἑαυτήν· εἶτα οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον τὸ σωμάτιον τῶν κτυπημάτων[1] τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατεφλέγετο. πάντων δ' ὁμοῦ πυρουμένων, Ἑρμῇ κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἁρπάσαι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τεμὼν τὸν αὐτοῦ μηρὸν ἐρράπτει· εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν, ἡνίκα ἐτελεσφορήθη τὸ βρέφος, ὠδίνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς C
νύμφας ἔρχεται· τὸ Λῦθι ῥάμμα δὲ αὗται τῷ μηρῷ προσεπάδουσαι τὸν διθύραμβον ἡμῖν εἰς φῶς προήγαγον· εἶτα ἐμάνη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας, ἔπαυσε δ' αὐτῷ τὴν νόσον ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτίκα θεός. εἵποντο γοῦν οὐ Λίχας αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἡρακλεῖ οὐδὲ Ἰόλεως οὐδὲ Τελαμὼν οὐδ' Ὕλας οὐδ' Ἄβδηρος, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πᾶνες καὶ δαιμόνων στρατιά. D
ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἀνθρωπικὴ μὲν ἡ σπορὰ διὰ τῶν κεραυνίων, ἡ δ' ἀποκύησις ἀνθρωπικωτέρα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ τοῖν εἰρημένοιν προσομοιότερα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις τὰ ἔργα; τί οὖν οὐ καταβάλλοντες τὸν λῆρον ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τούτων ἴσμεν, ὡς Σεμέλη σοφὴ τὰ θεῖα; παῖς γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος, τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ

Πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὁδοὺς μακάρων ἐδάησαν

λέγων. αἰσθέσθαι οὖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου 221
πρώτη παρ' Ἕλλησι καὶ τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπιφάνειαν

[1] σωμάτιον ἓν τῶν κτυπημάτων Friederich; Hertlein approves but would omit ἓν: δωμάτιον ἓν τῶν κτημάτων Hertlein, MSS., τὸ δωμάτιον ἓν κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ἐνσκήψαντος Arnoldt.

womb she, as the story goes, was beguiled by jealous Hera to entreat her lover to visit her as he was wont to visit his spouse. And then her frail body could not endure the thunders of Zeus and began to be consumed by the lightning. But when everything there was being devoured by flames, Zeus bade Hermes snatch Dionysus forth, and he cut open his own thigh and sewed the babe therein.[1] Then in due course when the time was ripe for the child's birth, Zeus in the pangs of travail came to the nymphs, and they by their song over the thigh "Undo the stitching"[2] brought to light for us the dithyramb. Whereupon the god was driven mad by Hera, but the Mother of the Gods healed him of his sickness and he straightway became a god. And he had for followers not, like Heracles, Lichas for instance or Iolaus or Telamon or Hylas or Abderos, but Satyrs, Bacchanals, Pans and a whole host of lesser divinities. Do you perceive how much of human there is in this generation through the fire of a thunderbolt, that his delivery is even more human, and that his deeds, even more than these two that we have mentioned, resemble those of human beings? Now why do we not set aside all this nonsense and recognise herein first the fact that Semele was wise in sacred things? For she was the daughter of Phoenician Cadmus, and the god himself bears witness to the wisdom of the Phoenicians[3] when he says "The Phoenicians too have learned many of the roads travelled by the blessed gods."[4] I think then that she was the first among the Greeks to perceive

[1] Cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 279 foll. [2] Cf. Pindar *fr.* 85.
[3] Cf. *Oration* 4. 134 A.
[4] An oracular verse from an unknown source.

αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν προαγορεύσασα κινῆσαι μὲν θᾶττον ἢ προσῆκον ἦν τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὀργίων, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸν εἱμαρμένον περιμεῖναι χρόνον, εἶτα ἀναλωθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ῥυέντος ἐπ' αὐτήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο τῷ Διὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδοῦναι ἀρχὴν καταστάσεως ἑτέρας καὶ μεταβαλεῖν[1] αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ νομαδικοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἡμερώτερον, ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ B
Διόνυσος αὔτοπτος ἐφαίνετο δαίμων, ἐπιφοιτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν πολλὴν δαιμονίων τινῶν[2] καὶ διδοὺς ἀνθρώποις κοινῇ μὲν ἅπασι σύμβολον τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ἡμερίδος φυτόν, ὑφ' οὗ μοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐξημερωθέντων αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, Ἕλληνες τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτὸ ταύτης ἀξιῶσαι, μητέρα δ' αὐτοῦ προσειπεῖν τὴν Σεμέλην διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῶντος αὐτήν, ἅτε πρώτην ἱερό- C
φαντιν τῆς ἔτι μελλούσης ἐπιφοιτήσεως.

Οὕσης δέ, ὡς ἄν τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπῶν ἐξετάσειε, τῆς ἱστορίας τοιαύτης, οἱ τὸν Διόνυσον ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ζητοῦντες τἀληθὲς ἔχον ὡς ἔφην εἰς μῦθον διεσκεύασαν, αἰνιττόμενοι τήν τε οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ κύησιν καὶ τὸν ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ τόκον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ[3] . . . . . ἐν τῷ παντί, καὶ τἆλλα ἐφεξῆς ὅσα τοῦ ζητεῖν ἦν ἄξια,[4] φράζειν δέ γ' οὐ ῥᾴδια ἐμοί,

[1] μεταβαλεῖν Hertlein suggests, μεταβάλλειν MSS.
[2] τινῶν Hertlein suggests, τινὰ MSS.
[3] κόσμω . . . κατ . . . γματ . . . ξιν V, lacuna MSS.
[4] ἄξια, φράζειν δέ γ' οὐ ῥᾴδια ἐμοί Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.

that there was to be before long a visible manifestation of this god, and that she foretold it, and then that, sooner than was fitting, she gave the signal for certain of the mystic rites connected with his worship, because she had not the patience to wait for the appointed time, and thus she was consumed by the fire that fell upon her. But when it was the will of Zeus to bestow on all mankind in common a new order of things, and to make them pass from the nomadic to a more civilised mode of life, Dionysus came from India and revealed himself as very god made visible, visiting the cities of men and leading with him a great host of beings in some sort divine; and everywhere he bestowed on all men in common as the symbol of his manifestation the plant of "the gentle vine"; and since their lives were made more gentle by it the Greeks as I think gave it that name;[1] and they called Semele the mother of Dionysus because of the prediction that she had made, but also because the god honoured her as having been the first prophetess of his advent while it was yet to be.

Now since this is the historical truth of these events if they are accurately considered and examined, those who sought to discover what sort of god Dionysus is worked into a myth the truth which is as I said, and expressed in an allegory both the essential nature of the god and his conception in his father Zeus among the intelligible gods, and further his birth independently of generation in this our world.[2] . . . in the whole universe, and in their proper order all those other facts which are well worth

[1] ἡμερίς = the vine; ἥμερος = gentle.
[2] Here follows a lacuna of several words.

τυχὸν μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἔτι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ D
ἀκριβές, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι τὸν κρύφιον
ἅμα καὶ φανερὸν θεὸν ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ προβάλ-
λειν ἀκοαῖς ἀνεξετάστοις καὶ διανοίαις ἐπὶ πάντα
μάλλον ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμέναις.

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἴστω Διόνυσος αὐτός,
ᾧ καὶ προσεύχομαι τάς τε ἐμὰς καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας
ἐκβακχεῦσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ τῶν θεῶν
γνῶσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πολὺν ἀβάκχευτοι χρόνον τῷ
θεῷ μένοντες ὁπόσα ὁ Πενθεὺς[1] πάθωμεν, ἴσως 222
μὲν καὶ ζῶντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ
σώματος. ὅτῳ γὰρ ἂν[2] μὴ τὸ πεπληθυσμένον
τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἑνοειδοῦς καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ
παντελῶς ἀδιαιρέτου ὅλης τε ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμιγοῦς
προϋπαρχούσης οὐσίας τοῦ Διονύσου τελεσιουρ-
γηθῇ[3] διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνθέου βακχείας,
τούτῳ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ῥυῆναι τὴν ζωήν,
ῥυεῖσαν δὲ διεσπάσθαι καὶ διασπασθεῖσαν οἴχε-
σθαι· τὸ δὲ ῥυεῖσαν καὶ διασπασθεῖσαν μὴ προ- B
σέχων τις τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὑδάτιον μηδὲ λίνου
μήρινθον ἀκροάσθω, ξυνιέτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα
τρόπον ἄλλον, ὃν Πλάτων, ὃν Πλωτῖνος, ὃν
Πορφύριος, ὃν ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἰάμβλιχος. ὃς δ'
ἂν μὴ ταύτῃ ποιῇ, γελάσεται μέν, ἴστω μέντοι

[1] Πενθεὺς ἔπαθε MSS. ; Hertlein would omit ἔπαθε.
[2] ἂν Hertlein would add.
[3] τελεσιουργηθῇ Hertlein suggests, τελεσιουργηθείη MSS.

studying but too difficult for me at any rate to describe ; partly perhaps because I am still ignorant of the precise truth about them,[1] but perhaps also because I am unwilling to exhibit as in a theatre this god who is at once hidden and manifest, and that, too, to ears that have not sought after truth and to minds disposed to anything rather than the study of philosophy.

However let Dionysus himself decide about these things, though I do indeed implore him to inspire my mind and yours with his own sacred frenzy for the true knowledge of the gods, so that we may not by remaining too long uninspired by him have to suffer the fate of Pentheus, perhaps even while we are alive, but most certainly after death has freed us from the body. For he in whom the abundance of life has not been perfected by the essential nature of Dionysus, uniform and wholly indivisible as it is in the divisible world and pre-existing whole and unmixed in all things, he I say who has not been perfected by means of the Bacchic and divine frenzy for the god, runs the risk that his life may flow into too many channels, and as it flows be torn to shreds, and hence come to naught. But when I say "flow" or "torn to shreds" no one must consider the bare meaning of the words and suppose that I mean a mere trickle of water or a thread of linen, but he must understand these words in another sense, that used by Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry and the inspired Iamblichus. One who does not interpret them thus will laugh at them no doubt, but let me assure him that it will be a

[1] Cf. Plato, *Republic* 382 D.

Σαρδώνιον γελῶν ἔρημος ὢν ἀεὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώσεως, ἧς ἀντάξιον οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι τὴν βαρβάρων C ἔγωγε θείμην ἄν, οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην Ἥλιον. ἀλλά με πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις θεῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐβάκχευσεν οὐ προελόμενον.

Οὗ δὲ ἕνεκεν ἔφην αὐτά· κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαίνοντες ὅταν οἱ μῦθοι γίγνωνται περὶ τῶν θείων, αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ βοῶσι καὶ διαμαρτύρονται μὴ πιστεύειν ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεληθὸς σκοπεῖν καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι. τοσούτῳ δ' ἐστὶ κρεῖττον ἐν τούτοις τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἀπεμφαῖνον, ὅσῳ διὰ μὲν ἐκείνου καλοὺς λίαν καὶ μεγάλους καὶ ἀγαθούς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὅμως τοὺς θεοὺς D κίνδυνος νομίσαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων ὑπεριδόντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λεγομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξῃρημένην αὐτῶν οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπερέχουσαν πάντα τὰ ὄντα καθαρὰν νόησιν ἐλπὶς ἀναδραμεῖν.

Αἴτιαι μὲν οὖν αὗται τοῦ τὴν τελεστικὴν καὶ 223
μυσταγωγὸν φιλοσοφίαν τὰ μὲν ῥήματα παντὸς μᾶλλον εὐαγῆ καὶ σεμνὰ προφέρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλοιοτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοιούτων. ὁ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἠθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τοὺς λόγους πλάττων καὶ μύθους παράγων δράτω[1] τοῦτο μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παῖδας

[1] δράτω τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον τῷ MSS.

Sardonic laugh,[1] since he will be forever deprived of that knowledge of the gods which I hold to be more precious than to rule over the whole world, Roman and barbarian put together, yea, I swear it by my lord Helios. But again some god or other and no choice of my own has made me rave with this Bacchic frenzy.

To go back then to what led me to say all this. Whenever myths on sacred subjects are incongruous in thought, by that very fact they cry aloud, as it were, and summon us not to believe them literally but to study and track down their hidden meaning. And in such myths the incongruous element is even more valuable than the serious and straightforward, the more so that when the latter is used there is risk of our regarding the gods as exceedingly great and noble and good certainly, but still as human beings, whereas when the meaning is expressed incongruous there is some hope that men will neglect the more obvious sense of the words, and that pure intelligence may rise to the comprehension of the distinctive nature of the gods that transcends all existing things.

These then are the reasons why that branch of philosophy which is connected with initiation and the doctrines of the Mysteries ought by all means to be expressed in devout and serious language, while as regards the thought the narrative may be expounded in a style that has stranger qualities. But one who is inventing tales for the purpose of reforming morals and inserts myths therein, does so not for men but for those who are children whether in years

[1] A proverb for forced laughter, cf. *Odyssey* 22. 302; Plato, *Republic* 337 A.

ἤτοι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν, πάντως δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων δεομένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς σοι παῖδες ἐφάνημεν εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε Ἀνατόλιος οὑτοσί, B συγκαταρίθμει δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μεμμόριον καὶ τὸν Σαλούστιον, πρὸς τούτοις δέ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑξῆς, Ἀντικύρας σοι δεῖ· τί γὰρ ἂν ἀκκίζοιτό τις; ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μύθου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ κοινῇ πάντων βασιλέως Ἡλίου, τί σοι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν πεποίηται ἔργον; τίνι παρέστης ἀγωνιζομένῳ μετὰ τοὺ δικαίου; τίνα ἐθεράπευσας πενθοῦντα, τῷ λόγῳ διδάξας, ὅτι C μὴ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μήτε τῷ παθόντι μήτε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ; τίς δ' αἰτιάσεταί σε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μειρακίσκος σωφροσύνης, ὅτι πεποίηκας αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀσώτου σώφρονα καὶ καλὸν οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν φαίνεσθαι; τίνα δὲ ἄσκησιν ἐποιήσω τοῦ βίου; τί δέ σοι ἄξιον τῆς Διογένους βακτηρίας ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία τῆς παρρησίας πεποίηται; ἔργον οἴει μέγα βακτηρίαν λαβεῖν ἢ τρίχας ἀνεῖναι, καὶ περινοστεῖν τὰς D πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν βελτίστοις λοιδορεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ χειρίστους θεραπεύειν; εἰπὲ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ πρὸς τουτωνὶ τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οἳ δι' ὑμᾶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκτρέπονται, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς μὲν τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἦλθες, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν Γαλλιῶν; καίτοι πορευθεὶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ξυνεῖναι γοῦν σου τῆς φωνῆς μᾶλλον

or intelligence, and who on all accounts stand in need of such tales. If, however, you took us for children, me, for instance, or Anatolius here, and you may reckon with us Memmorius also and Sallust and add if you please all the others in due order, then you need a voyage to Anticyra.[1] For why should one pretend to be polite? Tell me, I ask, in the name of the gods, and of myth itself, or rather in the name of Helios the King of all the universe, what have you ever accomplished, great or small? When did you ever champion one who was resisting oppression and had right on his side? When did you ever comfort the mourner and teach him by your arguments that death is not an evil either for him who has suffered it or for his friends? What youth will ever give you the credit for his temperance, and say that you have made him show himself sober instead of dissolute, and beautiful not merely in body but far more in soul? What strenuous discipline have you ever embraced? What have you ever done to make you worthy of the staff of Diogenes or still more, by Zeus, of his freedom of speech? Do you really think it so great an achievement to carry a staff and let your hair grow, and haunt cities and camps uttering calumnies against the noblest men, and flattering the vilest? Tell me in the name of Zeus and of this audience now present, who are disgusted with philosophy because of men of your sort, why was it that you visited the late Emperor Constantius in Italy but could not travel as far as Gaul? And yet if you had come to me you would at any rate have associated with one who was better able to

[1] Hellebore, supposed to be a cure for madness, grew at Anticyra; hence the proverb: cf. Horace, *Satires* 2. 3. 166.

δυναμένῳ πλησιάζειν ἔμελλες ἀνθρώπῳ. τί δὲ 224
καὶ τὸ περιφοιτᾶν πανταχοῦ καὶ παρέχειν πρά-
γματα ταῖς ἡμιόνοις; ἀκούω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τοῖς
τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐλαύνουσιν, οἳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἢ τοὺς
στρατιώτας πεφρίκασι· χρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς
ξύλοις[1] ἀκούω τινὰς ὑμῶν χαλεπώτερον ἢ τοῖς
ξίφεσιν ἐκεῖνοι. γίγνεσθε οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰκότως
φοβερώτεροι. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν ἐθέμην ἐγὼ
τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἔοικα καὶ γράψειν. B
ἀποτακτιστάς τινας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς
Γαλιλαῖοι· τούτων οἱ πλείους μικρὰ προέμενοι
πολλὰ πάνυ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα πανταχόθεν
ξυγκομίζουσι, καὶ προσκτῶνται[2] τὸ τιμᾶσθαι
καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. τοιοῦτόν
τι καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστί, πλὴν ἴσως τοῦ
χρηματίζεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρ' ὑμᾶς γίγνεται,
παρ' ἡμᾶς δέ· συνετώτεροι γάρ ἐσμεν τῶν ἀνοήτων
ἐκείνων· ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρό-
σχημα τοῦ φορολογεῖν εὐπροσώπως, ὁποῖον C
ἐκείνοις, ἣν λέγουσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐλεημοσύνην,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα γε πάντα ἐστὶν ὑμῖν τε κἀκείνοις
παραπλήσια. καταλελοίπατε τὴν πατρίδα ὥσπερ
ἐκεῖνοι, περιφοιτᾶτε πάντη καὶ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον διωχλήσατε μᾶλλον ἐκείνων καὶ ἰταμώ-
τερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλούμενοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ
ἀπελαυνόμενοι. καὶ τί χρηστὸν ἐκ τούτων ὑμῖν
ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις; ἀνῆλ- D
θεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, εἶτα ὁ Σερηνιανός, εἶτα ὁ
Χύτρων, εἶτα οὐκ οἶδα παιδάριον ὅ, τι ξανθὸν καὶ
εὔμηκες, εἶτα σύ, καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἄλλοι δὶς τοσοῦτοι.

[1] *τοῖς ξύλοις* Hertlein would add ; Naber suggests *βάκτροις*.
[2] *προσκτῶνται* Hertlein suggests, *προσῆν οἶμαι* MSS.

comprehend your language. What do you gain by travelling about in all directions and wearing out the very mules you ride? Yes, and I hear that you wear out the mule drivers as well, and that they dread the sight of you Cynics even more than of soldiers. For I am told that some of you belabour them more cruelly with your staffs than do the soldiers with their swords, so that they are naturally more afraid of you. Long ago I gave you a nickname and now I think I will write it down. It is "monks,"[1] a name applied to certain persons by the impious Galilaeans. They are for the most part men who by making small sacrifices gain much or rather everything from all sources, and in addition secure honour, crowds of attendants and flattery. Something like that is your method, except perhaps for uttering divine revelations: but this is not your custom, though it is ours; for we are wiser than those insensate men. And perhaps too there is this difference that you have no excuse for levying tribute on specious pretexts as they do; which they call "alms," whatever that may mean. But in all other respects your habits and theirs are very much alike. Like them you have abandoned your country, you wander about all over the world, and you gave more trouble than they did at my headquarters, and were more insolent. For they were at any rate invited to come, but you we tried to drive away. And what good have you, or rather, what have the rest of us derived from all this? First arrived Asclepiades, then Serenianus, then Chytron, then a tall boy with yellow hair—I don't know his name—then you, and with you all

[1] Or "solitaries"; the word also means "heretic"; but Julian evidently alludes to Christian monks who lived on charity.

τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνόδου γέγονεν ἀγαθόν, ὦ λῷστοι; τίς ἤσθετο πόλις ἢ τίς ἰδιώτης τῆς ὑμετέρας παρρησίας; οὐκ ἀφρόνως μὲν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἵλεσθε τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς θέλοντα βασιλέα πορείαν, ἀνελθόντες δὲ ἀφρονέστερον αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμαθέστερον καὶ μανιωδέστερον ἐχρήσασθε, κολακεύσαντες ἅμα καὶ ὑλακτήσαντες καὶ βιβλία δόντες καὶ ταῦτα προσαχθῆναι[1] προσλιπαρήσαντες; οὐδένα ὑμῶν οἶμαι ἐγὼ τοσαυτάκις εἰς φιλοσόφου φοιτῆσαι, ὁσάκις εἰς ἀντιγραφέως, ὥστε ὑμῖν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Λύκειον ἀντὶ τῆς Ποικίλης τε ἦν τῶν βασιλείων τὰ πρόθυρα. 225

Οὐκ ἀπάξετε ταῦτα; οὐ καταβαλεῖτε νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ὅτε ὑμῖν οὐδέν ἐστι πλέον ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης καὶ τῆς βακτηρίας; πῶς δὲ καὶ γέγονεν ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὐκαταφρόνητος ἡ φιλοσοφία; τῶν ῥητορικῶν οἱ δυσμαθέστατοι καὶ οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑρμοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκκαθαρθῆναι δυνάμενοι, φρενωθῆναι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς σὺν τῷ Ἑρμῇ, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀγοραίου καὶ περιτρεχούσης ἁρπάσαντες ἐντρεχείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν παροιμίᾳ περιφερόμενον αὐτὸ γιγνώσκουσι τὸ ὅτι βότρυς πρὸς βότρυν πεπαίνεται· ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Κυνισμόν· βακτηρία, τρίβων, κόμη, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀμαθία, θράσος, ἰταμότης καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὴν σύντομον, φασίν, ὁδὸν καὶ σύντονον ἐπὶ τὴν B C

[1] προσαχθῆναι Hertlein suggests, πραχθῆναι MSS.

twice as many more. And now, my good sirs, what good has come from your journey? What city or individual has had any experience of your alleged freedom of speech? Was it not foolish of you to choose in the first place to make this journey to an Emperor who did not even wish to set eyes on you? And when you had arrived, did you not behave even more foolishly and ignorantly and insanely in flattering and barking at me in the same breath, and offering me your books, and moreover imploring that they should be taken to me? I do not believe that any one of you ever visited a philosopher's school as diligently as you did my secretary: in fact the entrance to the Palace stood for you in place of the Academy and the Lyceum and the Portico.

Have done with all this nonsense! At any rate lay it aside now if not before, when you can get no advantage from your long hair and your staff. Shall I tell you how you have caused philosophy to be lightly esteemed? It is because the most ignorant of the rhetoricians, those whose tongues not King Hermes himself could purify, and who could not be made wise by Athene herself with the aid of Hermes, having picked up their knowledge from their industry in frequenting public places,—for they do not know the truth of the current proverb, "Grape ripens near grape"[1]—then all rush into Cynicism. They adopt the staff, the cloak, the long hair, the ignorance that goes with these, the impudence, the insolence, and in a word everything of the sort. They say that they are travelling the short and ready road to virtue.[2] I would that you

[1] A proverb to express emulation; cf. Juvenal 2. 81.

[2] Plutarch, *Erotici* p. 759, says this of the Cynics; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7. 121.

ἀρετὴν ἰέναι[1] ὄφελον καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπορεύεσθε· ῥᾷον ἂν δι' ἐκείνης ἢ διὰ ταύτης ἤλθετε. οὐκ ἴστε, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχουσιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰς χαλεπότητας; καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς λεωφόροις ὁ μὲν τὴν σύντομον ἐλθεῖν δυνηθεὶς ῥᾷον ἐκπερίεισι τὴν κύκλῳ, οὐκέτι μέντοι τὸ ἀνάπαλιν ὁ κύκλῳ πορευθεὶς ἔλθοι ἂν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπίτομον, οὕτω δὴ[2] D
καὶ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τέλος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀρχὴ μία γνῶναί τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφομοιωθῆναι τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι, τέλος δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας ὁμοιότης.

Ὅστις οὖν Κυνικὸς εἶναι ἐθέλει,-πάντων ὑπεριδὼν τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοξῶν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται πρότερον. ἐκείνῳ τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔστι χρυσίον, οὐχ ἡ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἰ πρὸς ἀμοιβήν τις αὐτὰ ἐξετάζοι καὶ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτῷ τιμητῇ γενέσθαι· γῆν γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226
ἀμφότερα. τὸ σπανιώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ῥᾷον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι κενοδοξίας ταῦτα καὶ ἀμαθίας νενόμικεν ἔργα· τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις ἢ ψεγομένοις τίθεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει· φεύγει τὰς περιττὰς τροφάς· ἀποστρέφεται δὲ τὰ ἀφροδίσια. βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ δόξῃ προστέτηκεν οὐδὲ περιμένει τὸν μάγειρον καὶ τὰ ὑποτρίμματα καὶ τὴν κνίσσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν Φρύνην οὐδὲ τὴν Λαΐδα οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ δεῖνος[3] περιβλέπεται γαμετὴν οὐδὲ τὸ θυγάτριον B
οὐδὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν

[1] ἰέναι Cobet, πορευόμεθα Hertlein suggests, lacuna V.
[2] δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
[3] τοῦ δεῖνος Cobet, τοῦ δε Hertlein, MSS.

were going by the longer! For you would more easily arrive by that road than by this of yours. Are you not aware that short cuts usually involve one in great difficulties? For just as is the case with the public roads, a traveller who is able to take a short cut will more easily than other men go all the way round, whereas it does not at all follow that he who went round could always go the short cut, so too in philosophy the end and the beginning are one, namely, to know oneself and to become like the gods. That is to say, the first principle is self-knowledge, and the end of conduct is the resemblance to the higher powers.

Therefore he who desires to be a Cynic despises all the usages and opinions of men, and turns his mind first of all to himself and the god. For him gold is not gold or sand sand, if one enquire into their value with a view to exchanging them, and leave it to him to rate them at their proper worth: for he knows that both of them are but earth. And the fact that one is scarcer and the other easier to obtain he thinks is merely the result of the vanity and ignorance of mankind. He will judge of the baseness or nobility of an action, not by the applause or blame of men but by its intrinsic nature. He avoids any excess in food, and renounces the pleasures of love. When he is forced to obey the needs of the body he is not the slave of opinion, nor does he wait for a cook and sauces and a savoury smell, nor does he ever look about for Phryne or Lais or So-and-so's wife or young daughter or serving-maid. But as far as possible he satisfies his body's needs

προστυχόντων ἀποπλήσας τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρωσάμενος, ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύμπου κορυφῆς ἐπιβλέπει τοὺς ἄλλους

Ἄτης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκοντας,

ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ἀπολαύσεων ὑπομένοντας ὅσα οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ σύντομος ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀθρόως C ἐκστῆναι ἑαυτοῦ καὶ γνῶναι, ὅτι θεῖός ἐστι, καὶ τὸν νοῦν μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀτρύτως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ καθαροῖς νοήμασιν, ὀλιγωρεῖν δὲ πάντη τοῦ σώματος καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κοπρίων ἐκβλητότερον, ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ ὀργάνῳ τῷ σώματι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασὶ ταύτῃ.[1] ἐπανάξω δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει πρὸς παῖδας ἤτοι τῷ φρονεῖν, κἂν ἄνδρες ὦσιν, ἢ D καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν παιδαρίοις ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐξεταστέον ὅπως μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλημμελὲς ᾖ, καθάπερ ἔναγχος, δυσσεβές τι ῥηθείη· καὶ προσέτι τοῦτο ἐν ἅπασιν ἀκριβῶς βασανιστέον, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυής, εἰ μῦθός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ πλαττόμενος. ἐπεὶ τό γε νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον οὐ μῦθός ἐστι σός·[2] καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐνεανιεύσω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μῦθος

[1] *ὡς φασὶ ταύτῃ* Cobet, cf. *Oration* 4. 148 B, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

[2] *σός·* Hertlein suggests ; *σός, ὡς ἔφης* MSS.

with whatever comes to hand, and by thrusting aside all hindrances derived from the body he contemplates from above, from the peaks of Olympus, other men who are "Wandering in darkness in the meadow of Ate," [1] and for the sake of a few wholly trifling pleasures are undergoing torments greater than any by the Cocytus or Acheron such as the most ingenious of the poets are always telling us about. Now the true short cut to philosophy is this. A man must completely come out of himself and recognise that he is divine, and not only keep his mind untiringly and steadfastly fixed on divine and stainless and pure thoughts, but he must also utterly despise his body, and think it, in the words of Heracleitus, "more worthless than dirt." [2] And by the easiest means he must satisfy his body's needs so long as the god commands him to use it as an instrument.

So much for that, as the saying is.[3] Now to go back to the point at which I digressed.[4] Since, as I was saying, myths ought to be addressed either to those who though grown men are children in intelligence, or to those who in actual years are mere children, we must take pains to utter in them no word that is offensive to gods or men or anything impious, as was done recently. And moreover we must in all cases apply careful tests to see whether the myth is plausible, closely related to the matter discussed and whether what is invented is really a myth. Now what you composed lately is not your own myth though you boasted that it was. Nay, your myth was an old one and you did

[1] Empedocles, *fr.* 21, Diels. [2] Heracleitus, *fr.* 96, Diels.
[3] Cf. *Oration* 4. 148 B. [4] 223 A.

ἐστι παλαιός, ἐφήρμοσας δὲ αὐτὸν σὺ πράγμασιν 227
ἑτέροις, ὅπερ οἶμαι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ τῇ τροπικῇ
χρώμενοι τῶν νοημάτων κατασκευῇ· πολὺς δὲ ἐν
τούτοις ὁ Πάριός ἐστι ποιητής. ἔοικας οὖν οὐδὲ
πεποιηκὼς μῦθον, ὦ ξυνετώτατε, μάτην νεανιεύε-
σθαι· καίτοι τοῦτο τίτθης ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐτρα-
πέλου. Πλουτάρχου δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα
τῶν σῶν εἴσω χειρῶν ἀφῖκτο, οὔποτ' ἂν ἐλελήθει
σε, τίνι διαφέρει πλάσαι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μῦθον καὶ
τὸν κείμενον ἐφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείοις. ἀλλ' B
ἵνα μή σε τὴν σύντομον ὁδεύοντα βίβλοις ἐμβα-
λὼν μακραῖς καὶ δυσελίκτοις ἐπίσχω μικρὰ καὶ
πεδήσω· σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας
μῦθον, ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανιεὺς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους, ἡνίκα ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐξήτει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
ῥήτορας. ἐχρῆν οὖν τι τοιοῦτο πλάσαι· ἢ πρὸς
τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν μυθάριόν τι τοιοῦτον;
ἀναγκάσεις δέ με καὶ μυθοποιὸν γενέσθαι.

Πλουσίῳ ἀνδρὶ πρόβατα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ ἀγέλαι C
βοῶν καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν, ἵπποι δὲ αὐτῷ
πολλάκις μυρίαι ἔλος κάτα βουκολέοντο, καὶ
ποιμένες δοῦλοί τε καὶ ἐλεύθεροι μισθωτοί, καὶ
βουκόλοι βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι καὶ ἱπποφορβοὶ
τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πλεῖστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ
αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ πατὴρ ἀπελελοίπει, πολ-
λαπλάσια δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεκτήσατο,[1] πλουτεῖν θέλων

[1] ἐπεκτήσατο Naber, ἐκτήσατο Hertlein, MSS.

but adapt it to fresh circumstances, as I believe people are in the habit of doing who use tropes and figures of thought. The poet of Paros [1] for instance is much given to this style. It seems then that you did not even invent your myth, my very clever friend, and that yours was an idle boast. Though in fact the thing is done by any nurse with an inventive turn. And if the mythical tales of Plutarch had ever fallen into your hands you would not have failed to observe what a difference there is between inventing a myth from the beginning and adapting to one's own purpose a myth that already exists. But I must not detain you even for a moment or hinder you on your way along that short cut to wisdom by making you embark on books that are long and hard to read. You have not even heard of the myth by Demosthenes which he of the Paeanian deme addressed to the Athenians when the Macedonian demanded that the Athenian orators be given up. You ought to have invented something of that sort. In Heaven's name was it too hard for you to relate some little myth of the kind? You will force me too to become a myth-maker.

A certain rich man [2] had numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and "ranging flocks of goats" [3] and many times ten thousand mares "grazed his marsh-meadows." [4] Many shepherds too he had, both slaves and hired freedmen, neatherds and goatherds and grooms for his horses, and many estates withal. Now much of all this his father had bequeathed to him, but he had himself acquired

[1] Archilochus.
[2] Constantine.
[3] *Iliad* 2. 474.
[4] *Iliad* 20. 221.

ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν[1]
θεῶν ὀλίγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ D
καὶ υἱεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἷς ἐκεῖνος
διανείμας τὴν οὐσίαν ἔπειτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν
αὐτοὺς οἰκονομίας πέρι διδάξας, οὐδ' ὅπως ἄν τις
δύναιτο τὰ τοιαῦτα κτᾶσθαι μὴ παρόντα ἢ πα-
ρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ᾤετο γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας
ἀρκεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μάλα
ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἅτε μὴ λόγῳ
προσειληφὼς αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ συνηθείᾳ τινὶ καὶ
πείρᾳ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐκ 228
τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἰώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅθεν
καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτούς.
ἀρκεῖν οὖν νομίσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν υἱέων πρὸς τὸ
φυλάξαι τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως
ἔσονται σπουδαῖοι. τὸ δὲ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἦρξε πρῶ-
τον μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτων. ἐπιθυμῶν
γὰρ ἕκαστος ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ πολλὰ ἔχειν καὶ
μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν πέλας ἐτράπετο. τέως μὲν B
οὖν τοῦτο ἐπράττετο. προσαπέλαυον δὲ καὶ οἱ
ξυγγενεῖς, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ παιδευθέντες καλῶς, τῆς
τῶν παίδων ἀνοίας τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἶτα ἐπίμ-
πλατο φόνων πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγικὴ κατάρα ὑπὸ
τοῦ δαίμονος εἰς ἔργον ἤγετο· τὰ πατρῷα γὰρ
θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ διελάγχανον, καὶ ἦν πάντα ἀκοσμίας
πλήρη· πατρῷα μὲν ἱερὰ κατεσκάπτετο παρὰ τῶν
παίδων ὀλιγωρηθέντα πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
καὶ ἀποσυληθέντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἃ ἐτέθειτο C

[1] αὐτῷ τῶν Klimek, αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

many times more, being eager to enrich himself whether justly or unjustly; for little did he care for the gods. Several wives he had, and sons and daughters by them, among whom he divided his wealth before he died. But he did not teach them how to manage it, or how to acquire more if it should fail, or how to preserve what they had. For in his ignorance he thought that their mere numbers would suffice, nor had he himself any real knowledge of that sort of art, since he had not acquired his wealth on any rational principle but rather by use and wont, like quack doctors who try to cure their patients by relying on their experience only, so that many diseases escape them altogether.[1] Accordingly since he thought that a number of sons would suffice to preserve his wealth, he took no thought how to make them virtuous. But this very thing proved to be the beginning of their iniquitous behaviour to one another. For every one of them desired to be as wealthy as his father and to possess the whole for himself alone, and so attacked the brother that was his neighbour. Now for a time they continued to behave thus. And their relatives also shared in the folly and ignorance of those sons, since they themselves had had no better education. Then ensued a general slaughter, and heaven brought the tragic curse[2] to fulfilment. For "by the edge of the sword they divided their patrimony" and everything was thrown into confusion. The sons demolished the ancestral temples which their father before them had despised and had stripped of the votive offerings

[1] Cf. Plato, *Charmides* 156 E.

[2] The curse of Oedipus on his sons; cf. Euripides, *Phoenissae* 67; Plato, *Alcibiades* 2. 138 C; Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 817, 942.

παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ. καθαιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνῳκοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνήματα, προαγορεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, ὅτι ἄρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δεήσει μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου ἔμελε τῶν θεῶν.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοῦ φυρομένων καὶ ξυντελουμένων γάμων τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλουμένων ὁμοῦ τοῖς θείοις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὸν Δία ἔλεος ὑπῆλθεν· D
εἶτα ἀπιδὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον· ὦ παῖ, εἶπεν, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀρχαιότερον ἐν θεοῖς βλάστημα, μνησικακεῖν ἔτι διανοῇ τῆς ὑπεροψίας ἀνδρὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τολμηρῷ, ὅς σε ἀπολιπὼν αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἴτιος[1] ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων;
ἢ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μηδ' ἀγανακ- 229
τεῖς μηδ' ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τοὺς οἰστοὺς θήγεις, ἔλαττον εἶναι ταύτης αἴτιος αὐτῷ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἔρημον αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφείς; ἀλλ', ἔφη, καλῶμεν τὰς Μοίρας, εἴ πῃ βοηθητέος ὁ ἀνήρ ἐστιν. αἱ δὲ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Διί. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἥλιος, ὥσπερ ἐννοῶν τι καὶ λογιζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ, προσεῖχεν εἰς τὸν Δία πήξας τὰ ὄμματα. τῶν Μοιρῶν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη· Κωλύετον, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἡ Ὁσιότης ξὺν τῇ Δίκῃ. σὸν οὖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἐπείπερ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐταῖς, B
πεῖσαι καὶ ἐκείνας. ἀλλ' ἐμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν, ἔφη, θυγατέρες, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἐρέσθαι αὐτάς· τί τοίνυν,

[1] γένει αἴτιος Cobet, γένει καὶ παισὶν αἴτιος Hertlein, MSS.

that had been dedicated by many worshippers, but not least by his own ancestors. And besides demolishing the temples they erected sepulchres [1] both on new sites and on the old sites of the temples, as though impelled by fate or by an unconscious presentiment that they would ere long need many such sepulchres, seeing that they so neglected the gods.

Now when all was in confusion, and many marriages that were no marriages [2] were being concluded, and the laws of god and man alike had been profaned, Zeus was moved with compassion, and addressing himself to Helios he said: "O my son, divine offspring more ancient than heaven and earth, art thou still minded to resent the insolence of that arrogant and audacious mortal, who by forsaking thee brought so many calamities on himself and his race? Thinkest thou that, though thou dost not show thine anger and resentment against him nor whet thine arrows against his children, thou art any less the author of his destruction in that thou dost abandon his house to desolation? Nay," said Zeus, "let us summon the Fates and enquire whether any assistance may be given the man." Forthwith the Fates obeyed the call of Zeus. But Helios who was as though absorbed in thought and inward debate yet gave constant heed and fixed his eyes on Zeus. Then spoke the eldest of the Fates: "O our father, Piety and Justice both restrain us. Therefore it is thine to prevail on them also, since thou hast ordered us to be subservient to them." And Zeus made answer, "Truly they are my daughters, and it

[1] The Christian churches were so called because they were built over the tombs of the martyrs. [2] *i.e.* between cousins.

ὦ ποτνία, φατόν; ἀλλὰ τούτου μέν, εἰπέτην, ὦ πάτερ, αὐτὸς εἶ κύριος. σκόπει δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πονηρὸς οὑτοσὶ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ζῆλος μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσει.[1] πρὸς ἀμφότερα, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ σκέψομαι. καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι πλησίον παροῦσαι πάντα ἐπέκλωθον, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἐβούλετο. C

Λέγειν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄρχεται πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον· τουτὶ τὸ παιδίον, ἔφη· ξυγγενὲς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν ἄρα παρερριμμένον που καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τῶν κληρονόμων· τοῦτο, ἔφη, σόν ἐστιν ἔκγονον. ὅμοσον οὖν τὸ ἐμόν τε καὶ τὸ σὸν[2] σκῆπτρον, ἢ μὴν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι διαφερόντως αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιμανεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ θεραπεύσειν τῆς νόσου. ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅπως οἷον ὑπὸ D καπνοῦ ῥύπου τε ἀναπέπλησται καὶ λιγνύος, κίνδυνός τε τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ σπαρὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πῦρ ἀποσβῆναι, ἢν μὴ σύ γε δύσεαι ἀλκήν. σοὶ δὲ ἐγώ τε ξυγχωρῶ καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι· κόμιζε οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ τρέφε. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος ηὐφράνθη τε ἡσθεὶς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἔτι καθορῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σπινθῆρα μικρὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἔτρεφεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον, ἐξαγαγὼν

ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ
Ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης. 230

ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν ἀμήτορα, τὴν παρθένον ἅμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὸ παιδάριον ἐκτρέφειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράφη καὶ νεανίας ἐγένετο

Πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης, τοὔπερ χαριεστάτη ἥβη,

[1] ἐπικρατήσει Hertlein suggests, ἐπικρατήσῃ MSS.
[2] τὸ σὸν Hertlein suggests, σὸν MSS.

is meet that I question them. What then have ye to say, ye venerable goddesses?" "Nay, father," they replied, "that is as thou thyself dost ordain. But be careful lest this wicked zeal for impious deeds prevail universally among men." "I will myself look to both these matters," Zeus replied. Then the Fates approached and spun all as their father willed.

Next Zeus thus addressed Helios: "Thou seest yonder thine own child."[1] (Now this was a certain kinsman of those brothers who had been cast aside and was despised though he was that rich man's nephew and the cousin of his heirs.) "This child," said Zeus, "is thine own offspring. Swear then by my sceptre and thine that thou wilt care especially for him and cure him of this malady. For thou seest how he is as it were infected with smoke and filth and darkness and there is danger that the spark of fire which thou didst implant in him will be quenched, unless thou clothe thyself with might.[2] Take care of him therefore and rear him. For I and the Fates yield thee this task." When King Helios heard this he was glad and took pleasure in the babe, since he perceived that in him a small spark of himself was still preserved. And from that time he reared the child whom he had withdrawn "from the blood and noise of war and the slaughter of men."[3] And father Zeus bade Athene also, the Motherless Maiden, share with Helios the task of bringing up the child. And when, thus reared, he had become a youth "With the first down on his chin, when youth has all its charms,"[4] he learned

[1] Julian himself.
[2] *Iliad* 9. 231.
[3] *Iliad* 11. 164.
[4] *Iliad* 24. 348.

κατανοήσας τῶν κακῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὁπόσον τι περὶ
τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἐγεγόνει,
ἐδέησε μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον προέσθαι πρὸς
τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγείς. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἥλιος B
εὐμενὴς ὢν μετὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ὕπνον τινὰ
καὶ κάρον ἐμβαλὼν τῆς ἐπινοίας ταύτης ἀπήγαγεν,
αὖθις ἀνεγερθεὶς ἄπεισιν εἰς ἐρημίαν. εἶτα ἐκεῖ
λίθον τινὰ εὑρὼν μικρὸν ἀνεπαύσατο καὶ πρὸς
αὑτὸν ἐσκόπει, τίνα τρόπον ἐκφεύξεται τῶν τοσού-
των κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα
ἐφαίνετο μοχθηρά, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τέως. C
Ἑρμῆς οὖν αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν οἰκείως πρὸς
αὐτόν· ὥσπερ ἡλικιώτης νεανίσκος φανεὶς ἠσπά-
σατό τε φιλοφρόνως καί, Δεῦρο, εἶπεν, ἡγεμών σοι
ἐγὼ ἔσομαι λειοτέρας[1] καὶ ὁμαλεστέρας ὁδοῦ
τουτὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὑπερβάντι τὸ σκολιὸν καὶ ἀπό-
τομον χωρίον, οὗ πάντας ὁρᾷς προσπταίοντας καὶ
ἀπιόντας ἐντεῦθεν ὀπίσω. καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπιὼν
ᾤχετο μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ
ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ,[2] γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
τέως ἦν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. πεποιθὼς οὖν αὐτῷ D
προῆγεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω διὰ λείας ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀθρύπτου
καθαρᾶς τε πάνυ καὶ καρποῖς βριθούσης ἄνθεσί
τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὅσα ἐστὶ θεοῖς φίλα, καὶ
δένδρεσι κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρρίνης. ἀγαγὼν
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπί τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ
τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατὴρ πάντων
κάθηται τῶν θεῶν. ὅρα οὖν· ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὁ
μέγας κίνδυνος· ὅπως αὐτὸν ὡς εὐαγέστατα
προσκυνήσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὅ, τι ἂν

[1] λειοτέρας, Klimek, λείας Hertlein, MSS.
[2] δόρυ Hertlein suggests, μάχαιραν MSS ; cf. 231 c.

the numerous disasters that had befallen his kinsmen and his cousins, and had all but hurled himself into Tartarus, so confounded was he by the extent of those calamities. Then Helios of his grace, aided by Athene, Goddess of Forethought, threw him into a slumber or trance, and so diverted him from that purpose. Then when he had waked from this he went away into the desert. And there he found a stone and rested for a while thereon, debating within himself how he should escape evils so many and so vast. For all things now appeared grievous to him and for the moment there was no hope anywhere. Then Hermes, who had an affinity for him,[1] appeared to him in the guise of a youth of his own age, and greeting him kindly said, "Follow me, and I will guide thee by an easier and smoother road as soon as thou hast surmounted this winding and rugged place where thou seest all men stumbling and obliged to go back again." Then the youth set out with great circumspection, carrying a sword and shield and spear, though as yet his head was bare. Thus relying on Hermes he went forward by a road smooth, untrodden and very bright, and overhung with fruits and many lovely flowers such as the gods love, and with trees also, ivy and laurel and myrtle. Now when Hermes had brought him to the foot of a great and lofty mountain, he said, "On the summit of this mountain dwells the father of all the gods. Be careful then—for herein lies the greatest risk of all[2]—to worship him with the utmost piety and ask of him whatever thou wilt. Thou wilt choose,

[1] *i.e.* as the god of eloquence.
[2] Plato, *Republic* 618 B.

ἐθέλῃς· ἕλοιο δέ, ὦ παῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα. ταῦτα 231
εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν Ἑρμῆς πάλιν. ὁ δὲ
ἐβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πυθέσθαι, τί ποτε
αἰτήσασθαι χρὴ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς
δὲ πλησίον ὄντα οὐ κατεῖδεν, Ἐνδεὴς μέν, ἔφη,
καλὴ δὲ ὅμως ἡ ξυμβουλή. αἰτώμεθα οὖν ἀγαθῇ
τύχῃ τὰ κράτιστα καίπερ οὔπω σαφῶς τὸν πατέρα
τῶν θεῶν ὁρῶντες. Ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ ἢ ὅ, τι σοι φίλον
ὄνομα καὶ ὅπως ὀνομάζεσθαι· δείκνυέ μοι τὴν ἐπὶ
σὲ φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἄνω. κρείττονα γάρ μοι τὰ ἐκεῖ B
φαίνεται χωρία παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ
σοὶ κάλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ὅθεν πεπορεύμεθα
τέως ἀγλαΐας.

Εὐξαμένῳ ταῦτα εἴτε ὕπνος τις εἴτε ἔκστασις
ἐπῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἥλιον.
ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θέας, Ἀλλὰ
σοὶ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ θεῶν πάτερ, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ
τούτων ἕνεκα πάντων ἐμαυτὸν φέρων ἀναθήσω. C
περιβαλὼν[1] δὲ τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ Ἡλίου τὰς χεῖρας
ἀπρὶξ εἴχετο σώζειν ἑαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὁ δὲ καλέ-
σας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτόν,
ὁπόσα ἐκόμισεν ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τήν τε ἀσπίδα
καὶ τὸ ξίφος μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ ποῦ σοι,
ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὁ δέ,
Καὶ ταῦτα, εἶπε, μόγις ἐκτησάμην· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν
ὁ ξυμπονῶν ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἰκίᾳ παρερριμ-
μένῳ. Ἴσθι οὖν, εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος, ὅτι σε
πάντως χρὴ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε. ἐνταῦθα ἐδεῖτο D

[1] περιβαλὼν Cobet, περιβάλλων Hertlein, MSS.

my child, only what is best." So saying Hermes once more became invisible, though the youth was fain to learn from him what he ought to ask from the father of the gods. But when he saw that he was no longer at his side he said, "The advice though incomplete is good nevertheless. Therefore let me by the grace of fortune ask for what is best, though I do not as yet see clearly the father of the gods. Father Zeus—or whatever name thou dost please that men should call thee by,[1]—show me the way that leads upwards to thee. For fairer still methinks is the region where thou art, if I may judge of the beauty of thy abode from the splendour of the place whence I have come hither."

When he had uttered this prayer a sort of slumber or ecstasy came over him. Then Zeus showed him Helios himself. Awestruck by that vision the youth exclaimed, "For this and for all thy other favours I will dedicate myself to thee, O Father of the Gods!" Then he cast his arms about the knees of Helios and would not let go his hold but kept entreating him to save him. But Helios called Athene and bade her first enquire of him what arms he had brought with him. And when she saw his shield and sword and spear, she said, "But where, my child, is thy ægis[2] and thy helmet?" "Even these that I have," he replied, "I procured with difficulty. For in the house of my kinsfolk there was none to aid one so despised." "Learn therefore," said mighty Helios, "that thou must without fail return thither." Thereupon he entreated him

[1] Cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 160.

[2] Literally "the Gorgon's head," which formed the centre of the ægis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234 A.

μὴ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ἀλλὰ κατέχειν, ὡς οὐκέθ' ὕστερον ἐπανήξοντα, ἀπολούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐλιπάρει δακρύων, Ἀλλὰ νέος εἶ, ἔφη, καὶ ἀμύητος. ἴθι οὖν παρ' ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἂν μυηθείης ἀσφαλῶς τε ἐκεῖ διάγοις· χρὴ γάρ σ' ἀπιέναι καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκεῖνα πάντα τὰ ἀσεβήματα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανί- 232
σκος εἱστήκει σιωπῇ. καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος ἐπί τινα σκοπιὰν ἀγαγὼν αὐτόν, ἧς τὸ μὲν ἄνω φωτὸς ἦν πλῆρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἀχλύος, δι' ἧς ὥσπερ δι' ὕδατος ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς διικνεῖτο τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὁρᾷς, εἶπε, τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν κληρονόμον; καὶ ὅς, Ὁρῶ, ἔφη. Τί δέ; τοὺς βουκόλους τουτουσὶ καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας; καὶ τούτους ὁρᾶν εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος. Ποταπὸς οὖν B
τίς σοι ὁ κληρονόμος φαίνεται; ποταποὶ δ' αὖ οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ὁ μέν μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖ νυστάζειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταδυόμενος[1] λεληθότως ἡδυπαθεῖν, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ ὀλίγον μέν ἐστι τὸ ἀστεῖον, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ μοχθηρὸν καὶ θηριῶδες. ἐσθίει γὰρ καὶ πιπράσκει τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἀδικεῖ διπλῇ τὸν δεσπότην. τά τε γὰρ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἀποφέρον ἄμισθον εἶναί φησι καὶ ὀδύρεται. C
καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἐντελεῖς ἢ φθείρειν τὴν ποίμνην. Ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, σὲ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταυτησὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιτάττοντος τοῦ

[1] καταδυόμενος Naber thinks corrupt, but cf. *Letter to the Athenians* 285 A.

not to send him to earth again but to detain him there, since he would never be able to mount upwards a second time but would be overwhelmed by the ills of earth. But as he wept and implored Helios replied, "Nay, thou art young and not yet initiated. Return therefore to thine own people that thou mayst be initiated and thereafter dwell on earth in safety. For return thou must, and cleanse away all impiety and invoke me to aid thee, and Athene and the other gods." When Helios had said this the youth remained silent. Then mighty Helios led him to a high peak whose upper region was filled with light but the lower with the thickest mist imaginable, through which, as through water, the light of the rays of King Helios penetrated but faintly. "Thou seest," said Helios, "thy cousin the heir?" [1] "I see him," the youth replied. "Again, dost thou see yonder herdsmen and shepherds?" The youth answered that he did. "Then what thinkest thou of the heir's disposition? And what of his shepherds and herdsmen?" "He seems to me," replied the youth, "to be for the most part asleep, sunk in forgetfulness and devoted to pleasure; and of his shepherds a few are honest, but most are vicious and brutal. For they devour or sell his sheep, and doubly injure their master, in that they not only ruin his flocks but besides that they make great gain and return him but little thereof, while they declare with loud complaint that they are defrauded of their wages. And yet it were better that they should demand and obtain their full pay than that they should destroy the flock." "Now what if I and Athene here," said

[1] Constantius.

Διός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τούτου πάντων ἐπίτροπον τούτων καταστήσω—; πάλιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ νεανίσκος ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἱκέτευεν αὐτοῦ μένειν. ὁ δέ, Μὴ λίαν ἀπειθὴς ἔσο, φησί, μή ποτέ

σ' ἀπεχθήρω, ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ἀλλ', ὦ μέγιστε, εἶπεν, Ἥλιε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σέ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν Δία, χρῆσθέ μοι πρὸς ὅ, τι βούλεσθε. πάλιν οὖν D ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἄφνω φανεὶς ἐποίησε τὸν νεανίσκον θαρραλεώτερον. ἤδη γὰρ διενοεῖτο τῆς τε ὀπίσω πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε διατριβῆς ηὑρηκέναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνθανε, εἶπεν, ὦ λῷστε, πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τουτουὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμὸν βλάστημα. τοῦτον, ἔφη, τὸν κληρονόμον οἱ βέλτιστοι μὲν οὐκ εὐφραίνουσι τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ κόλακες δὲ καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δοῦλον καὶ ὑποχείριον πεποίηνται. συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν μὴ 233 φιλεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων φιλεῖν[1] εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικεῖσθαι. σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ἐπανελθὼν μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θήσει τὸν κόλακα. δευτέραν ἄκουέ μου παραίνεσιν, ὦ παῖ. νυστάζων οὗτος ἐξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλά· σὺ δὲ νῆφε καὶ γρηγόρει, μή σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παρρησίας ὁ κόλαξ ἐξαπατήσας λάθοι,[2] χαλκεὺς οἷά τις γέμων καπνοῦ καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἱμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τὰ B πρόσωπα τῷ ψιμυθίῳ κεχρισμένος, εἶτα αὐτῷ δοίης γῆμαί τινα τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων. τρίτης ἐπάκουέ μου παραινέσεως, καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀνδρῶν

[1] φιλεῖν Cobet, φίλων Hertlein, MSS.
[2] λάθοι Hertlein suggests, λάθῃ MSS.

Helios, "obeying the command of Zeus, should appoint thee to govern all these, in place of the heir?" Then the youth clung to him again and earnestly entreated that he might remain there. "Do not be obstinate in disobedience," said Helios, "lest perchance I hate thee beyond measure, even as I have loved thee."[1] Then said the youth, "Do thou, O most mighty Helios, and thou, Athene,—and thee too, Father Zeus, do I call to witness,—dispose of me as ye will." Then Hermes suddenly appeared once more, and inspired him with greater courage. For now he thought that he had found a guide for the journey back, and for his sojourn on earth. Then said Athene, "Attend, good youth, that art born of myself and of this god, thy noble sire! The most virtuous of the shepherds do not please this heir, for flatterers and profligates have made him their slave and tool. Thus it is that he is not beloved by the good, and is most deeply wronged by those who are supposed to love him. Be careful then when thou returnest that he make thee not his flatterer rather than his friend. This second warning also do thou heed, my son. Yonder man slumbers, and hence he is often deceived, but do thou be sober and vigilant,[2] lest the flatterer assume the frankness of a friend and so deceive thee; which is as though a smith covered with smoke and cinders should come wearing a white garment and with his face painted white, and thus induce thee to give him one of thy daughters in marriage.[3] My third warning to thee is this: do thou very zealously keep watch over thyself, and reverence us in the first

[1] *Iliad* 3. 415. [2] *Peter* 1. 5. 8; *Thessalonians* 1. 5. 6.
[3] An echo of Plato, *Republic* 495 E.

δὲ ὅστις ἡμῖν προσόμοιός ἐστιν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα. ὁρᾷς ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν ἠλίθιον ἔβλαψεν αἰσχύνη καὶ τὸ λίαν ἄγαν εἶναι καταπλῆγα;

Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος αὖθις τὸν λόγον διαδεξάμενος εἶπεν. Ἑλόμενος φίλους ὡς φίλοις C
χρῶ, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς οἰκέτας μηδὲ θεράποντας νόμιζε, πρόσιθι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ ἁπλούστατα καὶ γενναίως, μὴ λέγων μὲν ἄλλα, φρονῶν δὲ ἕτερα περὶ αὐτῶν. ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν κληρονόμον τοῦτο ἐπέτριψεν, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπιστία; φίλει τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς σέ. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγείσθω σοι τῶν καλῶν ἁπάντων· ἐσμὲν γάρ σου καὶ εὐεργεταὶ καὶ D
φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος διεχύθη καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἅπαντα ἤδη τοῖς θεοῖς πειθόμενος. Ἀλλ' ἴθι, ἔφη, πορεύου μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος. ἡμεῖς γάρ σοι πανταχοῦ συνεσόμεθα ἐγώ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὅδε καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν πανταχοῦ τὸ θεῖον γένος, ἕως ἂν τά τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅσιος ᾖς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους φιλάνθρωπος, ἄρχων αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα· ἀλλὰ μήτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ μήτε ταῖς ἐκείνων[1] ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύων ὑπεικάθῃς. ἔχων οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν,[2] ἣν ἐκόμισας πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄπιθι προσλαβὼν ταύτην μὲν τὴν δᾷδα παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φῶς λάμπῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιποθῇς τῶν τῇδε, ταυτησὶ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς καλῆς τό τε Γοργόνειον

[1] ταῖς ἐκείνων Cobet, ἐκείνων ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.
[2] τὴν πανοπλίαν Hertlein suggests, πανοπλίαν MSS.

place, and among men only him who resembles us, and no one besides. Thou seest how false shame and excessive timidity have injured this foolish man."

Then mighty Helios took up the tale and said, "When thou hast chosen thy friends treat them as friends and do not regard them as thy servants and attendants, but let thy conduct towards them be generous, candid, and honourable: say not one thing about them while thou thinkest another. Thou seest that it was treachery to his friends that destroyed this heir. Love thy subjects even as we love thee. Prefer our worship to all other blessings. For we are thy benefactors and friends and preservers." At these words the youth became calm and showed plainly that he was already obedient in all things to the gods. "Come," said Helios, "now depart with good hope. For everywhere we shall be with thee, even I and Athene and Hermes here, and with us all the gods that are on Olympus or in the air or on earth and the whole race of gods everywhere, so long as thou art pious towards us and loyal to thy friends, and humane towards thy subjects, ruling them and guiding them to what is best. But never yield to thy own passions or become the slave of theirs. Keep the armour that thou hast brought hither, and depart, but first receive from me this torch so that even on earth a great light may shine for thee and that thou mayst not long for the things of earth. And from fair Athene here receive an

καὶ τὸ κράνος· πολλὰ γάρ, ὁρᾷς, ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, καὶ δίδωσιν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ. δώσει δέ σοι καὶ Ἑρμῆς B
χρυσῆν ῥάβδον. ἔρχου οὖν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμηθεὶς ταύτῃ διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ θαλάττης, ἀμετακινήτως τοῖς ἡμετέροις πειθόμενος νόμοις, καὶ μηδείς σε μήτε ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν, μήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ξένων ἀναπείσῃ τῶν ἐντολῶν[1] ἐκλαθέσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἐμμένων γὰρ αὐταῖς ἡμῖν μὲν ἔσῃ φίλος καὶ τίμιος, αἰδοῖος δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμῶν ὑπηρέταις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς καὶ κακοδαίμοσιν. ἴσθι δὲ C
σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδόσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας ἕνεκα ταυτησί. βουλόμεθα γάρ σοι τὴν προγονικὴν οἰκίαν αἰδοῖ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθῆραι. μέμνησο οὖν, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ἔχεις καὶ ἔκγονον ἡμετέραν, ἑπόμενός τε ἡμῖν ὅτι θεὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ὄψει σὺν ἡμῖν πατέρα.

Τοῦτο εἴτε μῦθος εἴτε ἀληθής ἐστι λόγος οὐκ οἶδα. τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένον, τίνα βούλει τὸν Πᾶνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο,[2] D
ὡς ἐσμὲν ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ Πάν; ὦ τοῦ γελοίου Ψευδόπανος, γελοιοτέρου μέντοι νὴ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Διὸς ἀνθρώπου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτεχνῶς ἐκ μαινομένου[3] στόματος οὔτι τὴν ἔνθεον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔκπληκτον μανίαν; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ
Σαλμωνεὺς ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς δίκην, 235
ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐπεχείρει Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομασάντων

[1] *τῶν ἐντολῶν* Hertlein suggests, *ἐντολῶν* MSS.
[2] *τοῦτο* Hertlein suggests, *τοῦτον* MSS.
[3] *μαινομένου* Hertlein suggests, *τοῦ μαινομένου* MSS.

aegis and helmet. For as thou seest she has many, and she gives them to whom she will. And Hermes too will give thee a golden wand. Go then thus adorned in full armour over sea and land, steadfastly obeying our laws, and let no man or woman or kinsman or foreigner persuade thee to neglect our commands. For while thou dost abide by them thou wilt be loved and honoured by us and respected by our good servants and formidable to the wicked and impious. Know that a mortal frame was given to thee that thou mightest discharge these duties. For we desire, out of respect for thy ancestor to cleanse the house of thy forefathers. Remember therefore that thou hast an immortal soul that is our offspring, and that if thou dost follow us thou shalt be a god and with us shalt behold our father."

Now whether this be a fable or a true narrative I cannot say. But in your composition, whom do you mean by Pan, and whom by Zeus unless you and I are they, that is, you are Zeus and I am Pan? What an absurd counterfeit Pan! But you are still more absurd, by Asclepius, and very far indeed from being Zeus! Is not all this the utterance of a mouth that foams with morbid rather than inspired madness?[1] Do you not know that Salmoneus[2] in his day was punished by the gods for just this, for attempting, though a mortal man, to play the part of Zeus? Then too there is the account in Hesiod's poems of those who styled them-

[1] Plato, *Phaedrus* 244 foll.

[2] *Odyssey* 11. 235; Pindar, *Pythian* 4. 143; Salmoneus was destroyed by a thunder-bolt for imitating the thunder and lightning of Zeus.

ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν, Ἥρας τε καὶ Διός, εἰ μήπω καὶ νῦν ἀκήκοας, ἔχω σοι συγγνῶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαιδοτριβήθης καλῶς οὐδὲ ἔτυχες καθηγεμόνος, ὁποίου περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγὼ τουτουὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μεθ' ὃν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἦλθον ὑπ' ἀνδρὶ τελεσθησόμενος, ὃν νενόμικα τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν πάντων διαφέρειν. B ὁ δέ με πρὸ πάντων ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ἁπάντων τῶν καλῶν νομίζειν ἡγεμόνας ἐδίδασκεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τι προὔργου πεποίηκεν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείη καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοί· τουτὶ δὲ ἐξῄρει τὸ μανιῶδες καὶ θρασύ, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτό με ποιεῖν ἐμαυτοῦ σωφρονέστερον. ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ, ὡς οἶσθα, τοῖς ἔξωθεν πλεονεκτήμασιν ἐπτερωμένος ὑπέταξα ὅμως ἐμαυτὸν τῷ καθηγεμόνι C καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου φίλοις καὶ ἡλικιώταις καὶ συμφοιτηταῖς, καὶ ὧν ἤκουον ἐπαινουμένων παρ' αὐτοῦ, τούτων ἔσπευδον ἀκροατὴς εἶναι, καὶ βιβλία ταῦτα ἀνεγίγνωσκον, ὁπόσα αὐτὸς δοκιμάσειεν.

Οὕτως ἡμεῖς ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τελούμενοι, φιλοσόφῳ μὲν τῷ τὰ τῆς προπαιδείας με τελέσαντι, φιλοσοφωτάτῳ δὲ τῷ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας δείξαντι, σμικρὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν προσπεσούσας ἀσχολίας, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀπε- D λαύσαμεν τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀγωγῆς, οὐ τὴν σύντομον, ἣν σὺ φής, ἀλλὰ τὴν κύκλῳ πορευθέντες· καίτοι νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν οἶμαι ὅτι σου συντομωτέραν ἐτραπόμην. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς,

selves by the names of the gods, even of Hera and of Zeus, but if you have not heard of it till this moment I can excuse you for that. For you have not been well educated, nor did fate bestow on you such a guide to the poets as I had—I mean this philosopher [1] now present: and later on I arrived at the threshold of philosophy to be initiated therein by the teaching of one [2] whom I consider superior to all the men of my own time. He used to teach me to practise virtue before all else, and to regard the gods as my guides to all that is good. Now whether he accomplished anything of real profit he himself must determine, or rather the ruling gods; but at least he purged me of such infatuate folly and insolence as yours, and tried to make me more temperate than I was by nature. And though, as you know, I was armed [3] with great external advantages, nevertheless I submitted myself to my preceptor and to his friends and compeers and the philosophers of his school, and I was eager to be instructed by all whose praises I heard uttered by him, and I read all the books that he approved.

Thus then I was initiated by those guides, in the first place by a philosopher who trained me in the preparatory discipline, and next by that most perfect philosopher who revealed to me the entrance to philosophy; and though I achieved but little on account of the engrossing affairs that overwhelmed me from without, still for all that I have had the benefit of right training, and have not travelled by the short road as you say you have, but have gone all the way round. Though indeed I call the gods to witness, I

[1] Maximus of Ephesus. [2] Iamblichus.
[3] Literally "winged."

εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς προθύροις ἕστηκα, σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἴ πόρρω. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς ἢ τοῖς σοῖς ἀδελφοῖς —, ἀφελὼν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον· εἰ βούλει δέ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχου πράως λεγόμενον, — τίς μετουσία; πᾶσιν ἐπιτιμᾷς αὐτὸς 236
οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνου πράττων, ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥητόρων, οἷς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὑρεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὅ, τι φῶσιν, ἡ Δῆλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἡ Λητὼ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶτα κύκνοι λιγυρὸν ᾄδοντες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμῶνές τε ἔνδροσοι μαλακῆς πόας καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἥ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ὀδμὴ καὶ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτὸ καί τινες εἰκόνες τοιαῦται. ποῦ τοῦτο Ἰσοκράτης Β
ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐποίησε λόγοις; ποῦ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἀνδρῶν, οἳ ταῖς Μούσαις ἐτελοῦντο γνησίως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν; ἀφίημι δὲ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀπεχθανόμενος ἅμα τοῖς τε φαυλοτάτοις τῶν Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων προσκρούσαιμι· ὡς ἔμοιγε πρός τε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Κυνικῶν,

believe that the road I took was really a shorter road to virtue than yours. For I, at any rate, if I may say so without bad taste, am standing at the entrance, whereas you are a long way even from the entrance. "But as for virtue, you and your brethren—," [1] omit the ill-sounding phrase and fill in the blank yourself! Or rather, if you please, bear with me when I "put it mildly" [2]—"what part or lot have you in it?" You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise; your praises are in worse taste than those of the most ignorant rhetoricians. They, because they have nothing to say and cannot invent anything from the matter in hand, are always dragging in Delos and Leto with her children, and then "swans singing their shrill song and the trees that echo them," and "dewy meadows full of soft, deep grass," and the "scent of flowers," and "the season of spring," and other figures of the same sort.[3] When did Isocrates ever do this in his panegyrics? Or when did anyone of those ancient writers who were genuine votaries of the Muses, and not like the writers of to-day? However, I omit what I might add, lest I should make them also my enemies, and offend at once the most worthless Cynics and the most worthless rhetoricians. Though indeed I have nothing but friendly feelings for the really virtuous Cynics, if

[1] A direct quotation from Demosthenes, *De Corona* 128; the word omitted by Julian is *κάθαρμα* = "off-scourings," or 'outcast," addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.

[2] An echo of Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1. 5. 14.

[3] For this device of introducing hackneyed poetical and mythological allusions cf. Themistius 330, 336 C; Aristides, *Oration* 20. 428 D; Himerius, *Oration* 18. 1. Epictetus 3. 282.

εἴ τις ἄρα ἔστι νῦν τοιοῦτος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενναίους ῥήτορας ἐστι φίλα[1] πάντα. τῶν μὲν C
δὴ τοιούτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπιρρεῖ·
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσον οὐχὶ λέγειν ἐθέλων τις ἐκ
πάνυ δαψιλοῦς ἀντλήσειεν ἂν πίθου· τῆς προ-
κειμένης ἡμῖν ἀσχολίας ἕνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρὰ
δὲ ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ προσθεὶς ὥσπερ ὀφλήματι τὸ
ἐνδέον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι τρέψομαι, ταυτηνὶ τὴν ξυγ- D
γραφὴν αὐτοῦ που πληρώσας.

Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλάβεια περὶ τὰ
τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, τίς δὲ ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπὸς
δὲ ἦν ἐν τούτοις Ἀριστοτέλης; ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτὸ
ἰδεῖν; ἢ τὸν μὲν Σάμιον οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τοιοῦτον
γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐν τῇ
σφραγῖδι φορεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ ὅρκῳ χρῆσθαι
προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν. εἰ δὲ νῦν
λέγοιμι, ὅτι καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237
Πέρσας εἶδε καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ
μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεῦσαι καὶ τελεσθῆναι
παντοίας πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ἴσως ἄγνω-
στά σοι, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς.
ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκουε· τὸ δ᾽ ἐμὸν δέος, ὦ
Πρώταρχε, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι
κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου.
καὶ νῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ὅπῃ ἐκείνῃ φίλον,
ταύτῃ προσαγορεύω· τὴν δ᾽ ἡδονὴν οἶδα ὡς B
ἔστι ποικίλον· ταῦτα ἐν Φιλήβῳ λέγεται, καὶ
τοιαῦτα ἕτερα πάλιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ· πιστεύειν γὰρ

[1] φίλα Cobet, φιλικὰ Hertlein, MSS.

indeed there be any such nowadays, and also for all honest rhetoricians. But though a vast number of illustrations of this sort flow into my mind—for anyone who desired to use them could certainly draw from an ample jar [1]—I shall refrain because of the present pressure of business. However I have still somewhat to add to my discourse, like the balance of a debt, and before I turn to other matters let me complete this treatise.

I ask you then what reverence for the names of the gods was shown by the Pythagoreans and by Plato? What was Aristotle's attitude in these matters? Is it not worth while to pay attention to this? Or surely no one will deny that he of Samos [2] was reverent? For he did not even allow the names of the gods to be used on a seal, nor oaths to be rashly uttered in the names of the gods. And if I should go on to say that he also travelled to Egypt and visited Persia, and everywhere endeavoured to be admitted to the inner mysteries of the gods and everywhere to be initiated into every kind of rite, I shall be saying what is familiar and obvious to most people, though you may not have heard of it. However, listen to what Plato says: "But for my part, Protarchus, I feel a more than human awe, indeed a fear beyond expression, of the names of the gods. Now therefore I will address Aphrodite by whatever name pleases her best; though as for pleasure, I know that it has many forms." This is what he says in the Philebus [3] and he says the same sort of thing again in the Timaeus.[4] For he says that we

[1] A proverb for wealth; cf. Theocritus 10. 13.
[2] Pythagoras. [3] *Philebus* 12 C.
[4] *Timaeus* 40 D; Julian fails to see that Plato is not speaking seriously.

ἁπλῶς ἀξιοῖ καὶ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως λεγομένοις, ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν φασιν οἱ ποιηταί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέθηκα, μή ποτέ σοι παράσχῃ πρόφασιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν Πλατωνικῶν πολλοῖς, ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρων ὢν φύσει τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἀτιμάσαι δόξαν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐχ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα C
λέγει ἥκιστα ὢν εἴρων. καίτοι τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν οὐχ ὑγιὲς μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται. βούλει δῆτα[1] τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πάνσοφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρῆνα, τὸν τοῦ λογίου τύπον Ἑρμοῦ, τὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις φίλον; ἐκεῖνος ἀξιοῖ τοὺς ἐπερωτῶντας ἢ ζητεῖν ὅλως ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ θεοί εἰσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ θηρία κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἀνεγνώ- D
κεις τὸν συστατικὸν[2] αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὃς ὥσπερ τῆς Πλάτωνος, οὕτω δὴ[3] καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς προυγέγραπτο, ἔγνως ἂν πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμυῆσθαι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τὰς ἁγιωτάτας τελετὰς καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἦχθαι τοῖς εἴσω τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζουσι προηγόρευτο.[4]

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἡμῖν μὴ τὸν Διογένη προβαλὼν 238
ὥσπερ τι μορμολυκεῖον ἐκφοβήσεις.[5] οὐ γὰρ ἐμυήθη, φασίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν προτρεπόμενον μυηθῆναι, Γελοῖον, εἶπεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οἴει ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνήσειν τοῖς ὁσίοις τῶν ἐν ᾅδου καλῶν, Ἀγησίλαον

[1] δῆτα Cobet adds, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
[2] συστατικὸν Cobet, ἀστατικὸν V, Hertlein, ἐνστατικὸν Reiske, εὐστατικὸν Spanheim. [3] δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
[4] προηγόρευτο Cobet, προηγορεύετο Hertlein, MSS.
[5] ἐκφοβήσεις Cobet, ἐκφοβήσῃς Hertlein, MSS.

ought to believe directly and without proof what we are told, I mean what the poets say about the gods. And I have brought forward this passage for fear that Socrates may furnish you with an excuse,—as I believe he does to many Platonists because of his natural tendency to irony,—to slight the doctrine of Plato. For it is not Socrates who is speaking here, but Timaeus, who had not the least tendency to irony. Though for that matter it is not a sound principle to enquire who says a thing and to whom, rather than the actual words. But now will you allow me to cite next that all-wise Siren, the living image of Hermes the god of eloquence, the man dear to Apollo and the Muses?[1] Well, he declares that all who raise the question or seek to enquire at all whether gods exist ought not to be answered as though they were men but to be chastised as wild beasts. And if you had read that introductory sentence which was inscribed over the entrance to his school, like Plato's, you would most surely know that those who entered the Lyceum were warned to be reverent to the gods, to be initiated into all the mysteries, to take part in the most sacred ceremonies, and to be instructed in knowledge of every kind.

And do not try to frighten me by bringing forward Diogenes as a sort of bogey. He was never initiated, they tell us, and replied to some one who once advised him to be initiated: "It is absurd of you, my young friend, to think that any tax-gatherer, if only he be initiated, can share in the rewards of the just in the next world, while Agesilaus and

[1] Aristotle.

δὲ καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κείσεσθαι. τοῦτο, ὦ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἐστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μείζονος, ὁποίας[1] B ἡμῖν αὐταὶ δοῖεν αἱ θεαὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν· νομίζω δὲ αὐτὴν ἤδη καὶ δεδόσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης οὐχ, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε, δυσσεβής, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις, ὧν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, προσόμοιος. ἀπιδὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν περίστασιν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν, εἶτα εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπων τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνιεὶς[2] ὅτι τὸν μυούμενον ἐχρῆν πολιτο- γραφηθῆναι πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναῖον, εἰ καὶ μὴ C φύσει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τοῦτο ἔφυγεν, οὐ τὸ μυηθῆναι, νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολίτην, καὶ ταῖς ὅλαις τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαις, αἳ τὸν ὅλον κοινῇ κόσμον ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῖς τὰ μέρη κατανειμαμέναις αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀξιῶν συμπολιτεύεσθαι· τό τε νόμιμον οὐ παρέβη αἰδοῖ τῶν θεῶν, καίτοι τἆλλα πατῶν καὶ παρα- χαράττων· αὐτόν τε οὐκ ἐπανήγαγεν, ὅθεν D ἄσμενος ἠλευθέρωτο. τί δ' ἦν τοῦτο; τὸ πόλεως μιᾶς δουλεῦσαι νόμοις ἑαυτόν τε ὑποθεῖναι τούτῳ, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν βαδίζων, ὁ τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὥσπερ Σωκράτης· φησὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πύθιον οἴκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὁρμὴ

[1] *ὁποίας* Hertlein suggests, *ὅπως* MSS.
[2] *συνιεὶς* Hertlein suggests, *συνεὶς* MSS.

Epameinondas are doomed to lie in the mire."[1] Now this, my young friend, is a very hard saying and, I am persuaded, calls for more profound discussion. May the goddesses themselves grant us understanding thereof! Though indeed I think that has already been bestowed by them. For it is evident that Diogenes was not impious, as you aver, but resembled those philosophers whom I mentioned a moment ago. For having regard to the circumstances in which his lot was cast, and next paying heed to the commands of the Pythian god, and knowing that the candidate for initiation must first be registered as an Athenian citizen, and if he be not an Athenian by birth must first become one by law, it was this he avoided, not initiation, because he considered that he was a citizen of the world; and moreover such was the greatness of his soul that he thought he ought to associate himself with the divine nature of all the gods who in common govern the whole universe, and not only with those whose functions are limited to certain portions of it. And out of reverence for the gods he did not transgress their laws, though he trampled on all other opinions and tried to give a new stamp to the common currency. And he did not return to that servitude from which he had joyfully been released. What servitude do I mean? I mean that he would not enslave himself to the laws of a single city and submit himself to all that must needs befall one who had become an Athenian citizen. For is it likely that a man who in order to honour the gods journeyed to Olympia, and like Socrates embraced philosophy in obedience to the Pythian oracle,—for

[1] *Diogenes Laertius* 6. 39.

πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο· παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτό- 239
ρων εἴσω καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἐξέκλινε
τὸ ὑποθεῖναι νόμοις ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ἀποφῆναι
πολιτείας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τί μὴ ταύτην αὐτὴν εἶπε τὴν
αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ τὴν παραιρουμένην οὐ
σμικρὰ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἴσως μὲν
ἄν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ μάλιστα ἐπισκή-
ψειεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ῥητέον
πάντα ἐστίν, αὐτῶν τε οἶμαι τούτων, ὧν θέμις
φάναι, ἔνια πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σιωπητέον εἶναί
μοι φαίνεται. φανερὰ δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἡ B
αἰτία. κατανοήσας γὰρ ἀμελοῦντα μὲν τῆς περὶ
τὸν βίον ὀρθότητος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεμυῆσθαι μέγα
φρονοῦντα[1] τὸν παραινοῦντα αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, σω-
φρονίζων ἅμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτόν, ὅτι τοῖς[2] μέν,
οἷς ἀξίως τοῦ μυηθῆναι βεβίωται, καὶ μὴ μυη-
θεῖσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀκεραίους φυλάττουσι, C
τοῖς δὲ μοχθηροῖς οὐδέν ἐστι πλέον, κἂν εἴσω τῶν
ἱερῶν εἰσφρήσωσι περιβόλων. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα
καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης προαγορεύει, ὅστις χεῖρα μὴ
καθαρὸς καὶ ὄντινα μὴ χρή, τούτοις ἀπαγορεύων
μὴ μυεῖσθαι;

Τί πέρας ἡμῖν ἔσται τῶν λόγων, εἰ ταῦτα μήπω
σε πείθει;

[1] *μέγα φρονοῦντα* Cobet, *μεγαλοφρονοῦντα* Hertlein, MSS.
[2] *τοῖς* Naber, *τούτοις* Hertlein, MSS.

he says himself that at home and in private he received the commands of that oracle and hence came his impulse to philosophy [1]—is it likely I say that such a man would not very gladly have entered the temples of the gods but for the fact that he was trying to avoid submitting himself to any set of laws and making himself the slave of any one constitution? But why, you will say, did he not assign this reason, but on the contrary a reason that detracted not a little from the dignity of the Mysteries? Perhaps one might bring this same reproach against Pythagoras as well, but the reasoning would be incorrect. For everything ought not to be told, nay more, even of those things that we are permitted to declare, some, it seems to me, we ought to refrain from uttering to the vulgar crowd.[2] However the explanation in this case is obvious. For since he perceived that the man who exhorted him to be initiated neglected to regulate his own life aright, though he prided himself on having been initiated, Diogenes wished at the same time to reform his morals and to teach him that the gods reserve their rewards without stint for those whose lives have earned them the right to be initiated, even though they have not gone through the ceremony, whereas the wicked gain nothing by penetrating within the sacred precincts. For this is what the hierophant proclaims, when he refuses the rite of initiation to him "whose hands are not pure or who for any reason ought not![3]"

But where would this discourse end if you are still unconvinced by what I have said?

[1] Diogenes like Socrates claimed that he had a δαιμόνιον, a private revelation to guide his conduct; cf. 212 D.

[2] Cf. *Oration* 4. 148 A, note.

[3] This was the πρόρρησις or praefatio sacrorum; cf. Livy 45. 5.

ORATION VIII

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VIII

The Eighth Oration is a "speech of consolation" (παραμυθητικὸς λόγος), a familiar type of Sophistic composition. In consequence of the attacks on Sallust by sycophants at court, and moreover jealous of his friendship with Julian, Constantius ordered him to leave Gaul. In this discourse, which was written before the open rupture with Constantius, Julian alludes only once and respectfully to his cousin. But Asmus thinks he can detect in it a general resemblance to the Thirteenth Oration of Dio Chrysostom, where Dio tries to comfort himself for his banishment by the tyrant Domitian, and that Sallust was expected to appreciate this and the veiled attack on Constantius. Julian addresses the discourse to himself, but it was no doubt sent to Sallust.

After Julian's accession Sallust was made prefect in 362 and consul in 363. He was the author of a manifesto of Neo Platonism, the treatise *On the Gods and the World,* and to him was dedicated Julian's Fourth Oration.[1]

[1] cf. vol. i. p. 351.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΕΞΟΔΩΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ 240

'Αλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς σὲ διαλεχθείην ὅσα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διελέχθην, ἐπειδή σε βαδίζειν ἐπυθόμην χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἔλαττον ἔχειν οἰήσομαι πρὸς παραψυχήν, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεπορίσθαι τινὰ ῥᾳστώνην ἐμαυτῷ νομιῶ, ἧς σοί γε οὐ μεταδέδωκα. κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ B ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν μὲν ἀλγεινῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἡδέων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων, ἐν πράγμασιν ἰδίοις τε καὶ δημοσίοις, οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, κοινὸν[1] εὑρίσκεσθαι χρὴ τῶν παρόντων, ὁποῖά ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, παιώνιον ἄκος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ τὴν 'Ορφέως μιμήσαιτο[2] λύραν ἢ τοῖς Σειρήνων ἀντηχήσειε[3] μέλεσιν ἢ τὸ νηπενθὲς ἐξεύροι φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγος ἦν ἐκεῖνο πλήρης Αἰ- γυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἴθ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, ἐν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐνυφήνας τὰ Τρωικὰ πάθη, C τοῦτο τῆς Ἑλένης παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μαθούσης, οὐχ ὅσα Ἕλληνες καὶ Τρῶες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ ποταποὺς εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ τὰς μὲν

[1] κοινὸν Wright, καινὸν Hertlein, MSS.
[2] ἂν—μιμήσαιτο Hertlein suggests, μιμήσεται MSS.
[3] ἀντηχήσειε Hertlein suggests, ἀντηχήσει MSS.

A CONSOLATION TO HIMSELF UPON THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXCELLENT SALLUST

Ah, my beloved comrade, unless I tell you all that I said to myself when I learned that you were compelled to journey far from my side, I shall think I am deprived of some comfort; or rather, I shall consider that I have not even begun to procure some assuagement for my grief unless I have first shared it with you. For we two have shared in many sorrows and also in many pleasant deeds and words, in affairs private and public, at home and in the field, and therefore for the present troubles, be they what they may, we must needs discover some cure, some remedy that both can share.

But who will imitate for us the lyre of Orpheus, who will echo for us the songs of the Sirens or discover the drug nepenthe?[1] Though that was perhaps some tale full of Egyptian lore or such a tale as the poet himself invented, when in what follows he wove in the story of the sorrows of the Trojans, and Helen had learned it from the Egyptians; I do not mean a tale of all the woes that the Greeks and Trojans inflicted on one another, but rather tales such as

[1] *Odyssey* 4. 227; a sophistic commonplace; cf. 412 D, Themistius 357 A; Julian seems to mean that the nepenthe was not really a drug but a story told by Helen.

ἀλγηδόνας ἀφαιρήσουσι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης δὲ καὶ γαλήνης αἴτιοι καταστήσονται. καὶ γάρ πως ἔοικεν ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφῆς ἐξῆφθαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀλλήλαις ἀντιμεθί- 241
στασθαι. τῶν προσπιπτόντων δὲ καὶ τὰ λίαν ἐργώδη φασὶν οἱ σοφοὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι φέρειν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς δυσκολίας τὴν εὐπάθειαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μέλιτταν ἐκ τῆς δριμυτάτης πόας τῆς περὶ τὸν Ὑμηττὸν φυομένης γλυκεῖαν ἀνιμᾶσθαι δρόσον καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἶναι δημιουργόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὅσα μὲν ὑγιεινὰ καὶ ῥωμαλέα καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σιτίων, B
καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ δοκοῦντα πολλάκις ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀβλαβῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αἴτια γέγονεν· ὅσοις δὲ πονηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφῇ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν πάντα βίον νοσηλευομένοις, τούτοις καὶ τὰ κουφότατα βαρυτάτας εἴωθε προστιθέναι βλάβας. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς διανοίας ὅσοι μὲν οὕτως ἐπεμελήθησαν, ὡς μὴ παμπονήρως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὑγιαίνειν μετρίως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντισθένους καὶ Σωκράτους ῥώμην μηδὲ τὴν Καλλισθένους ἀνδρείαν μηδὲ C
τὴν Πολέμωνος ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε δύνασθαι τὸ μέτριον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἱρεῖσθαι, τυχὸν ἂν καὶ ἐν δυσκολωτέροις εὐφραίνοιντο.

Ἐγώ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς πεῖραν ἐμαυτοῦ λαμβάνων, ὅπως πρὸς τὴν σὴν πορείαν ἔχω τε καὶ ἕξω, τοσοῦτον ὠδυνήθην, ὅσον ὅτε πρῶτον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ καθηγεμόνα κατέλιπον οἴκοι· πάντων γὰρ ἀθρόως εἰσῄει με μνήμη, τῆς τῶν πόνων κοινωνίας, ὧν ἀλλήλοις συνδιηνέγκαμεν, τῆς ἁπλάστου καὶ

they must be that will dispel the griefs of men's souls and have power to restore cheerfulness and calm. For pleasure and pain, methinks, are connected at their source[1] and succeed each other in turn. And philosophers assert that in all that befalls the wise man the very greatest trials afford him as much felicity as vexation; and thus, as they say, does the bee extract sweet dew from the bitterest herb that grows on Hymettus and works it into honey.[2] Even so bodies that are naturally healthy and robust are nourished by any kind of food, and food that often seems unwholesome for others, far from injuring them, makes them strong. On the other hand, the slightest causes usually inflict very serious injuries on persons who by nature or nurture, or owing to their habits, have an unsound constitution and are lifelong invalids. Just so with regard to the mind: those who have so trained it that it is not altogether unhealthy but moderately sound, though it do not indeed exhibit the vigour of Antisthenes or Socrates, or the courage of Callisthenes, or the imperturbability of Polemon, but so that it can under the same conditions as theirs adopt the golden mean, they, I say, will probably be able to remain cheerful in more trying conditions.

For my part, when I put myself to the proof to find out how I am and shall be affected by your departure, I felt the same anguish as when at home I first left my preceptor.[3] For everything flashed across my mind at once; the labours that we shared and endured together; our unfeigned and candid conversation; our innocent and upright intercourse;

[1] Plato, *Phaedo* 60 B. [2] Cf. *Oration* 2. 101 A.
[3] Mardonius.

καθαρᾶς ἐντεύξεως, τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ δικαίας D
ὁμιλίας, τῆς ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς καλοῖς κοινοπραγίας,
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἰσορρόπου τε καὶ ἀ-
μεταμελήτου προθυμίας τε καὶ ὁρμῆς, ὡς μετ'
ἀλλήλων ἔστημεν πολλάκις ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
ὁμότροποι καὶ ποθεινοὶ φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις
εἰσῄει με μνήμη τοῦ Οἰώθη δ' Ὀδυσεύς· εἰμὶ
γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκείνῳ παραπλήσιος, ἐπεὶ σὲ μὲν
κατὰ τὸν Ἕκτορα θεὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἔξω βελῶν,
ὧν οἱ συκοφάνται πολλάκις ἀφῆκαν ἐπὶ σέ, 242
μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμέ, διὰ σοῦ τρῶσαι βουλόμενοι,
ταύτῃ με μόνον ἁλώσιμον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ
τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προθύμου συνασπιστοῦ
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀπροφασίστου κοινωνοῦ
τῆς συνουσίας στερήσειαν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαττον οἶμαί
σε διὰ τοῦτο ἀλγεῖν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅτι σοι τῶν
πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἔλαττον μέτεστιν, ἀλλὰ B
καὶ πλέον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δεδιέναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
κεφαλῆς, μή τι πάθῃ. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς
οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐθέμην τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ
δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠσθόμην. ὅθεν
εἰκότως καὶ μάλα δάκνομαι, ὅτι σοι, τῶν ἄλλων
ἕνεκα λέγειν δυναμένῳ

Οὐδὲν μέλει μοι· τἀμὰ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει,
Μόνος εἰμὶ λύπης αἴτιος καὶ φροντίδος.[1] C

ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν ἐξ ἴσης, ὡς ἔοικε, κοινωνοῦμεν,
σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀεὶ ποθῶν
τὴν σὴν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φιλίας μεμνημένος,
ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγουμένως,

[1] *μόνος—φροντίδος* Brambs regards as a verse; Hertlein prints as prose.

our co-operation in all that was good; our equally-matched and never-repented zeal and eagerness in opposing evildoers. How often we supported each other with one equal temper![1] How alike were our ways! How precious our friendship! Then too there came into my mind the words, "Then was Odysseus left alone."[2] For now I am indeed like him, since the god has removed you, like Hector,[3] beyond the range of the shafts which have so often been aimed at you by sycophants, or rather at me, since they desired to wound me through you; for they thought that only thus should I be vulnerable if they should deprive me of the society of a faithful friend and devoted brother-in-arms—one who never on any pretext failed to share the dangers that threatened me. Moreover the fact that you now have a smaller share than I in such labours and dangers does not, I think, make your grief less than mine; but you feel all the more anxiety for me and any harm that may befall my person.[4] For even as I never set your interests second to mine, so have I ever found you equally well disposed towards me. I am therefore naturally much chagrined that to you who with regard to all others can say, "I heed them not, for my affairs are prosperous,"[5] I alone occasion sorrow and anxiety. However this sorrow it seems we share equally, though you grieve only on my account, while I constantly feel the lack of your society and call to mind the friendship that we pledged to one another—that friendship which we ever cemented afresh, based as it was, first and foremost, on virtue,

[1] *Iliad* 17. 720.
[2] *Iliad* 11. 401.
[3] *Iliad* 11. 163.
[4] *Iliad* 17. 242.
[5] Nauck, *Adespota fragmenta* 430.

ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἣν ἐγὼ μὲν σοί, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παρέσχες, ἀνακραθέντες ἀλλήλοις ὡμολογήσαμεν, οὐχ ὅρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστούμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ Θησεὺς καὶ D
ὁ Πειρίθους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἀεὶ ταὐτὰ νοοῦντες καὶ προαιρούμενοι κακὸν μὲν δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν τινι τοσοῦτον δέω λέγειν ἀπέσχομεν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐβουλευσάμεθά ποτε μετὰ ἀλλήλων· χρηστὸν δὲ εἴ τι γέγονεν ἢ βεβούλευται κοινῇ παρ' ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ἄλλοις εἰπεῖν μελήσει.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἀλγῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐ φίλου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργοῦ πιστοῦ, δοίη δὲ ὁ 243
δαίμων, καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπαλλαττόμενος, οἶμαι καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀρετῆς κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἔμοιγε συνομολογήσειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνον γνωρίζομεν, λέγω δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι Χαλεπώτερον ἐφαίνετό μοι ὀρθῶς τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ φίλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πιστῶν οἷόν τε εἶναι πράττειν, οὔτ' εὐπορεῖν τούτων ξὺν πολλῇ ῥᾳστώνῃ. καίτοι τοῦτό γε εἰ Πλά- B
τωνι μεῖζον ἐφαίνετο ταῦ διορύττειν τὸν Ἄθω, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέον ἀπολειπομένους τῆς ἐκείνου συνέσεώς τε καὶ γνώμης ἢ ἐκεῖνος τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς χρείας μόνον ἕνεκα, ἣν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ῥᾴον εἴχομεν πρὸς τὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀντιταττομένων ἡμῖν πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ[1] καὶ τῆς μόνης ἀεί μοι θαλπωρῆς τε

[1] ἀλλὰ Reiske supplies, lacuna Hertlein: after πραττόμενα several words are lost.

and secondly on the obligations which you continually conferred on me and I on you. Not by oaths or by any such ties did we ratify it, like Theseus and Peirithous, but by being of the same mind and purpose, in that so far from forbearing to inflict injury on any citizen, we never even debated any such thing with one another. But whether anything useful was done or planned by us in common, I will leave to others to say.

Now that it is natural for me to be grieved by the present event, on being parted for ever so short a time—and God grant that it may be short!—from one who is not only my friend but my loyal fellow-worker, I think even Socrates, that great herald and teacher of virtue, will agree; so far at least as I may judge from the evidence on which we rely for our knowledge of him, I mean the words of Plato. At any rate, what he says is: "Ever more difficult did it seem to me to govern a state rightly. For neither is it possible to achieve anything without good friends and loyal fellow-workers, nor is it very easy to obtain enough of these." [1] And if Plato thought this more difficult than digging a canal through Mount Athos,[2] what must we expect to find it, we who in wisdom and knowledge are more inferior to him than he was to God? But it is not only when I think of the help in the administration that we gave one another in turn, and which enabled us to bear more easily all that fate or our opponents brought to pass contrary to our purpose; but also because I am destined soon to be bereft also of what has ever

[1] Julian quotes from memory and paraphrases *Epistle* 7. 325 c.

[2] This feat of Xerxes became a rhetorical commonplace.

καὶ τέρψεως ἐνδεὴς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι C
μέλλων, εἰκότως δάκνομαί τε καὶ δέδηγμαι τὴν
ἐμαυτοῦ καρδίαν. ἐς τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι
λοιπὸν εὔνουν ἀποβλέψαι φίλον; τίνος δὲ ἀνα-
σχέσθαι τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ καθαρᾶς παρρησίας; τίς
δὲ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἐπιτιμήσει
δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας, ἐπιρρώσει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χωρὶς
αὐθαδείας καὶ τύφου, παρρησιάσεται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν
ἀφελὼν τῶν λόγων, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων D
ἀφαιροῦντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχερές, ἀπολείποντες
δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς
φιλίας ὄφελος ἐκαρπωσάμην. τοσούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ
ἐστερημένος, τίνων ἂν εὐπορήσαιμι λόγων, οἵ με,
διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον σά τε μήδεα σήν τε ἀγανοφρο-
σύνην αὐτὴν προέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν κινδυνεύοντα,
πείσουσιν ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὅσα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς
γενναίως; εἰς ταὐτὸ γὰρ ἔοικεν αὐτῷ νοῶν ὁ μέγας 244
αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθ' οὕτω νυνὶ βουλεύσασθαι. τί
ποτε οὖν ἄρα χρὴ διανοηθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐπῳδὰς
εὑρόντα πεῖσαι πρᾴως ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυ-
βουμένην τὴν ψυχήν; ἆρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξιδός
εἰσι μιμητέοι λόγοι, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Θρᾴκης
ἐπῳδάς, ἃς Ἀθήναζε φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ
τὴν ὀδύνην ἰᾶσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπᾴδειν ἠξίου τῷ
καλῷ Χαρμίδῃ; ἢ τούτους μὲν ἅτε δὴ μείζονας
καὶ περὶ μειζόνων οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ

been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I am and have been cut to the very heart.[1] For in the future to what friend can I turn as loyal as yourself? With whose guileless and pure frankness shall I now brace myself? Who now will give me prudent counsel, reprove me with affection, give me strength for good deeds without arrogance and conceit, and use frankness after extracting the bitterness from the words, like those who from medicines extract what is nauseating but leave in what is really beneficial?[2] These are the advantages that I reaped from your friendship! And now that I have been deprived of all these all at once, with what arguments shall I supply myself, so that when I am in danger of flinging away my life out of regret for you and your counsels and loving kindness,[3] they may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly whatever God has sent?[4] For in accordance with the will of God our mighty Emperor has surely planned this as all else. Then what now must be my thoughts, what spells must I find to persuade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the discourses of Zamolxis[5]—I mean those Thracian spells which Socrates brought to Athens and declared that he must utter them over the fair Charmides before he could cure him of his headache?[6] Or must we leave these alone as being, like large machinery in a small theatre, too lofty for

[1] Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1; cf. 248 D.
[2] A commonplace; Plato, *Laws* 659 E; Julian, *Caesars* 314 C; Dio Chrysostom 33. 10; Themistius 63 B, 302 B; Maximus of Tyre 10. 6.
[3] *Odyssey* 11. 202.
[4] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 97; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 53. 439 D.
[5] Cf. *Caesars* 309 C note.
[6] Plato, *Charmides* 156 D.

μικρῷ μηχανὰς μεγάλας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν B
ἔργων, ὧν ἐπυθόμεθα τὰ κλέα, φησὶν ὁ ποιητης,
ὥσπερ ἐκ λειμῶνος δρεψάμενοι ποικίλου καὶ
πολυειδοῦς[1] ἄνθη τὰ κάλλιστα ψυχαγωγήσομεν
αὐτοὺς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρὰ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας
αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες; ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς λίαν
γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγχέοντες οὐκ οἶδ' ὁποῖ' ἄττα
φάρμακα τὸ προσκορὲς αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὕτω
τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔνια προστιθέμενα
τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξ ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ὄχλον ἐπεισάγειν, C
οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ περιττὴν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαιρεῖται.

Τί πρῶτον; τί δ' ἔπειτα; τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;

πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηπίων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τὸν Λαίλιον
ἀγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἴσῳ ζυγῷ
παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν, ἡδέως μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆν,
ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδέν, ὧν μὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνος πύθοιτο
καὶ φήσειεν εἶναι πρακτέον; ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ λόγον
παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν Σκηπίωνα λοιδο- D
ροῦσιν, ὡς ποιητὴς μὲν ὁ Λαίλιος εἴη τῶν ἔργων,
Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ ὁ τούτων ὑποκριτής. αὕτη τοι καὶ
ἡμῖν ἡ φήμη πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυχεραίνω[2] χαίρω δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πλέον. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς
ὀρθῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γνωσθεῖσι πεισθῆναι μείζονος
ἀρετῆς[3] ὁ Ζήνων ποιεῖται γνώρισμα τοῦ γνῶναί 245
τινα αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ δέοντα, τὴν Ἡσιόδου
μεθαρμόττων ῥῆσιν,

Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται

[1] πολυειδοῦς Cobet, πολυτελοῦς Hertlein, MSS.
[2] οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραίνω χαίρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf. 37 B, 255 D; καὶ χαίρω γε MSS.
[3] ἀρετῆς Hertlein suggests, τῆς ἀρετῆς MSS.

our purpose and suited to greater troubles; and rather from the deeds of old whose fame we have heard told, as the poet says,[1] shall we gather the fairest flowers as though from a variegated and many-coloured meadow, and thus console ourselves with such narratives and add thereto some of the teachings of philosophy? For just as, for instance, certain drugs are infused into things that have too sweet a taste, and thus their cloying sweetness is tempered, so when tales like these are seasoned by the maxims of philosophy, we avoid seeming to drag in a tedious profusion of ancient history and a superfluous and uncalled-for flow of words.

"What first, what next, what last shall I relate?"[2] Shall I tell how the famous Scipio, who loved Laelius and was loved by him in return with equal yoke of friendship,[3] as the saying is, not only took pleasure in his society, but undertook no task without first consulting with him and obtaining his advice as to how he should proceed? It was this, I understand, that furnished those who from envy slandered Scipio with the saying that Laelius was the real author of his enterprises, and Africanus merely the actor. The same remark is made about ourselves, and, far from resenting this, I rather rejoice at it. For to accept another's good advice Zeno held to be a sign of greater virtue than independently to decide oneself what one ought to do; and so he altered the saying of Hesiod; for Zeno says: "That man is best who follows good advice" instead of "decides all things for himself."[4] Not that the alteration is to my

[1] *Iliad* 9. 524. [2] *Odyssey* 9. 14. [3] Theocritus 12. 15.
[4] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 293, 295 ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ; Diogenes Laertius 7. 25.

λέγων ἀντὶ τοῦ νοήσῃ πάνθ' ἑαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο χαρίεν εἶναι δοκεῖ· πείθομαι γὰρ ἀληθέστερον μὲν Ἡσίοδον λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἄμεινον Πυθαγόραν, ὃς καὶ τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔδωκε τῷ βίῳ, οὐ δήπου τὰ χρήματα λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ B
τὴν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὥσθ' ὅσα μὲν εὗρες αὐτός, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ταῦτα τοῦ πεισθέντος ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπεκρινάμην, τούτων αὐτῶν εἰκότως τὸ ἴσον μετέχεις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁποτέρου μᾶλλον ἂν φαίνηται, καὶ[1] θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς βασκάνοις οὐδὲν ἔσται πλέον ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνῄρητο μὲν ἡ Καρχηδὼν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἅπαντα τῆς Ῥώμης C
ἐγεγόνει δοῦλα, πέμπει μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν Λαίλιον· ἀνήγετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκηπίων ἤχθετο μὲν ἀπολειπόμενος τοῦ φίλου, οὐ μὴν ἀπαραμύθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος ᾤετο. καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον δὲ δυσχεραίνειν εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἀνήγετο, οὐ μὴν ἀφόρητον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συμφοράν. ἔπλει καὶ Κάτων ἀπολιπὼν οἴκοι τοὺς αὑτοῦ συνήθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Δημόκριτος οὐδένα παραλαβόντες κοινωνὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ, καίτοι πολλοὺς οἴκοι τῶν φιλτάτων D
ἀπολιμπάνοντες. ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμον οὐκ ἄγων τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν παρεστήσατο ταῖς μὲν ἐκείνου βουλαῖς, ἐπεπαίδευτο γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὐκ ἐφελκόμενος ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὰς 246

[1] καὶ θατέρῳ Hertlein suggests, θατέρῳ MSS.

liking. For I am convinced that what Hesiod says is truer, and that Pythagoras was wiser than either of them when he originated the proverb and gave to mankind the maxim, "Friends have all things in common." [1] And by this he certainly did not mean money only, but also a partnership in intelligence and wisdom. So all that you suggested belongs just as much to me who adopted it, and whenever I was the actor who carried out your plans you naturally have an equal share in the performance. In fact, to whichever of us the credit may seem to belong, it belongs equally to the other, and malicious persons will gain nothing from their gossip.

Let me go back now to Africanus and Laelius. When Carthage had been destroyed [2] and all Libya made subject to Rome, Africanus sent Laelius home and he embarked to carry the good news to their fatherland. And Scipio was grieved at the separation from his friend, but he did not think his sorrow inconsolable. Laelius too was probably afflicted at having to embark alone, but he did not regard it as an insupportable calamity. Cato also made a voyage and left his intimate friends at home, and so did Pythagoras and Plato and Democritus, and they took with them no companion on their travels, though they left behind them at home many whom they dearly loved. Pericles also set out on his campaign against Samos without taking Anaxagoras, and he conquered Euboea by following the latter's advice, for he had been trained by his teaching: but the philosopher himself he did not drag in his train as though he were part of the

[1] Diogenes Laertius 8. 10; Pythagoras persuaded his disciples to share their property in common. [2] Cf. Livy 27. 7.

μάχας. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον ἄκοντα, φασίν, Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀπέστησαν συνουσίας. ἀλλ' ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων ὢν[1] τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράως. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκῃ τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μητρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὔ, χαλεπῶς δὲ ὅμως ἐχούσῃ πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτῶν, εἴκειν ᾤετο χρῆναι, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκός, λογιζόμενος· ἀκούειν δὲ χρὴ τῶν ἐξῆς ὡς τοῦ Περικλέους αὐτοῦ· Ἐμοὶ πόλις μέν ἐστι καὶ πατρὶς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλοι θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ ὁπουοῦν[2] σπουδαῖοι. χρὴ B
δὲ καὶ τὴν οὖ[3] γεγόναμεν τιμᾶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο θεῖός ἐστι νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαί γε οἷς ἂν ἐπιτάττῃ καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδέ, ὅ φησιν ἡ παροιμία, πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν· ἀπαραίτητον γάρ ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον ζυγὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὀδυρτέον οὐδὲ θρηνητέον ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιτάττει τραχύτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα λογιστέον αὐτό. νῦν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ἀφ' ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ C
τὸν ἄριστον οὐκ ὀψόμεθα τῶν ἑταίρων, δι' ὃν ἠχθόμην μὲν τῇ νυκτί, ὅτι μοι τὸν φίλον οὐκ ἐδείκνυεν, ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ χάριν ἠπιστάμην, ὅτι μοι παρεῖχεν ὁρᾶν οὗ μάλιστα ἤρων. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὄμματά σοι δέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὦ Περίκλεις, μόνον ὥσπερ τοῖς θηρίοις,[4] οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἐστι σε διαφερόντως ἄχθεσθαι· εἰ δέ σοι ψυχὴν ἐνέ- D

[1] ὢν Hertlein would add.
[2] ὁπουοῦν Cobet, ὅπου Hertlein, MSS.
[3] τὴν οὗ Hertlein suggests, οὗ MSS.
[4] θηρίοις Cobet, ὄρνισιν Hertlein, MSS.

equipment needed for battle. And yet in his case too we are told that much against his will the Athenians separated him from the society of his teacher. But wise man that he was, he bore the folly of his fellow-citizens with fortitude and mildness. Indeed he thought that he must of necessity bow to his country's will when, as a mother might, however unjustly, she still resented their close friendship; and he probably reasoned as follows. (You must take what I say next as the very words of Pericles.[1])

"The whole world is my city and fatherland, and my friends are the gods and lesser divinities and all good men whoever and wherever they may be. Yet it is right to respect also the country where I was born, since this is the divine law, and to obey all her commands and not oppose them, or as the proverb says kick against the pricks. For inexorable, as the saying goes, is the yoke of necessity. But we must not even complain or lament when her commands are harsher than usual, but rather consider the matter as it actually is. She now orders Anaxagoras to leave me and I shall see no more my best friend, on whose account the night was hateful to me because it did not allow me to see my friend, but I was grateful to daylight and the sun because they allowed me to see him whom I loved best.[2] But, Pericles, if nature had given you eyes only as she has to wild beasts, it would be natural enough for you to feel excessive grief. But since she has

[1] Cobet rejects this sentence as a gloss; but Julian perhaps echoes Plato, *Menexenus* 246 c.

[2] This a very inappropriate application to Pericles of the speech of Critoboulos in Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 12; cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 49.

πνευσε καὶ νοῦν ἐνῆκεν, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν γεγενημένων καίπερ οὐ παρόντα νῦν ὁρᾷς διὰ τῆς μνήμης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὁ λογισμὸς ἀνευρίσκων ὥσπερ ὄμμασιν ὁρᾶν προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων οὐ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἡ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπουμένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνειν καὶ καθορᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυριάσι σταδίων ἀπῳκισμένα τῶν γενομένων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 247
δείκνυσιν ἐναργέστερον, τί χρὴ τοσοῦτον ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ σχετλίως φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος ἐστί μοι,

Νοῦς ὁρᾷ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει

φησὶν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὕτως ὀξὺ χρῆμα καὶ τάχει χρώμενον ἀμηχάνῳ, ὥσθ' ὅταν τινὰ τῶν δαιμόνων Ὁμηρος ἐθέλῃ κεχρημένον ἀπίστῳ πορείας ἐπιδεῖξαι τάχει,

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀΐξῃ νόος ἀνέρος

φησί. τούτῳ τοι χρώμενος ῥᾷστα μὲν Ἀθήνηθεν Β
ὄψει τὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ῥᾷστα δὲ ἐκ Κελτῶν τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θρᾴκῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐν Κελτοῖς ἐκ Θρᾴκης καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ', ὥσπερ τοῖς φυτοῖς οὐκ ἔνι σώζεσθαι τὴν συνήθη χώραν μεταβάλλουσιν, ὅταν ἡ τῶν ὡρῶν ᾖ κρᾶσις ἐναντία, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεταβάλλουσιν ἢ διαφθείρεσθαι παντελῶς ἢ τὸν τρόπον ἀμείβειν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι περὶ ὧν ὀρθῶς πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεσαν. οὔκουν οὐδὲ τὴν εὔνοιαν C
ἀμβλυτέραν ἔχειν εἰκός, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν

breathed into you a soul, and implanted in you intelligence by means of which you now behold in memory many past events, though they are no longer before you : and further since your reasoning power discovers many future events and reveals them as it were to the eyes of your mind ; and again your imagination sketches for you not only those present events which are going on under your eyes and allows you to judge and survey them, but also reveals to you things at a distance and many thousand stades [1] removed more clearly than what is going on at your feet and before your eyes, what need is there for such grief and resentment ? And to show that I have authority for what I say, 'The mind sees and the mind hears,' says the Sicilian ;[2] and mind is a thing so acute and endowed with such amazing speed that when Homer wishes to show us one of the gods employing incredible speed in travelling he says : 'As when the mind of a man darts swiftly.'[3] So if you employ your mind you will easily from Athens see one who is in Ionia ; and from the country of the Celts one who is in Illyria or Thrace ; and from Thrace or Illyria one who is in the country of the Celts. And moreover, though plants if removed from their native soil when the weather and the season are unfavourable cannot be kept alive, it is not so with men, who can remove from one place to another without completely deteriorating or changing their character and deviating from the right principles that they had before adopted. It is therefore unlikely that our affection will become blunted, if indeed we do not love and

[1] The Attic stade = about 600 feet.
[2] Epicharmus *fr.* 13. [3] *Iliad* 15. 80.

καὶ στέργειν· ἕπεται γὰρ ὕβρις μὲν κόρῳ, ἔρως
δὲ ἐνδείᾳ. καὶ ταύτῃ τοίνυν ἕξομεν βέλτιον,
ἐπιτεινομένης ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας,
καθέξομέν τε ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν διανοίαις
ἱδρυμένους ὥσπερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ
τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, αὖθις δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὄψεται ἐμέ·
κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἅμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους, D
οὐχὶ σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφῆς τύπωμα,
στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον σώματος·
καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει τυχὸν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοίαις
ἡμῶν ἐμφαίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰς
πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ
τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ἃς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ'
ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμούσως ὑμνοῦντες παιδείαν καὶ
δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ
θνητὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ 248
νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτη-
δευμάτων διεξιόντες, ὅσα γε ἡμῖν ἐπῆει[1] ἐν καιρῷ
τούτων μεμνημένοις. ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις
τρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις τυχὸν οὐκ ὀνείρων
νυκτέρων[2] ἰνδάλμασι προσέξομεν οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ
μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῷ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἴσθησις διακει-
μένη. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παραληψόμεθα τὴν αἴ-
σθησιν ὑπουργεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' B
ἀποφυγὼν αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετήσει τούτοις
πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεθισμὸν τῶν ἀσωμάτων

[1] *ἐπῆει* Reiske adds.
[2] *νυκτέρων* Cobet, *νυκτερινῶν* Hertlein, MSS.

cherish each other the more for the separation. For 'wantonness attends on satiety,'[1] but love and longing on want. So in this respect we shall be better off if our affection tends to increase, and we shall keep one another firmly set in our minds like holy images. And one moment I shall see Anaxagoras, and the next he will see me. Though nothing prevents our seeing one another at the same instant; I do not mean our flesh and sinews and "bodily outline and breasts in the likeness"[2] of the bodily original—though perhaps there is no reason why these too should not become visible to our minds—but I mean our virtue, our deeds and words, our intercourse, and those conversations which we so often held with one another, when in perfect harmony we sang the praises of education and justice and mind that governs all things mortal and human: when too we discussed the art of government, and law, and the different ways of being virtuous and the noblest pursuits, everything in short that occurred to us when, as occasion served, we mentioned these subjects. If we reflect on these things and nourish ourselves with these images, we shall probably pay no heed to the 'visions of dreams in the night,'[3] nor will the senses corrupted by the alloy of the body exhibit to our minds empty and vain phantoms. For we shall not employ the senses at all to assist and minister to us, but our minds will have escaped from them and so will be exercised on the themes I have mentioned and aroused to comprehend and associate with things incorporeal.

[1] Theognis 153. *τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἕπηται.*

[2] Euripides, *Phoenissae* 165, *μορφῆς τύπωμα στέρνα τ' ἐξῃκασμένα.*

[3] Nauck, *Adespota trag. frag.* 108.

διεγειρόμενος· νῷ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσμεν, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα τόπου ὁρᾶν τε καὶ αἱρεῖν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἀξίως βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ συναπτόμενοι.

Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς, ἅτε δὴ μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ τραφεὶς ἐλευθέρως ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πόλει, C ὑψηλοτέροις ἐψυχαγώγει λόγοις αὐτόν· ἐγὼ δὲ γεγονὼς ἐκ τῶν οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἀνθρωπικωτέροις ἐμαυτὸν θέλγω καὶ παράγω λόγοις, καὶ τὸ λίαν πικρὸν ἀφαιρῶ τῆς λύπης, πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀεί μοι προσπιπτόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἐφαρ- D μόζειν τινὰ παραμυθίαν πειρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπῳδὴν θηρίου δήγματι δάκνοντος αὐτὴν ἔσω τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκεῖνό τοι πρῶτόν ἐστί μοι τῶν φαινομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἐγὼ μόνος ἀπολελείψομαι καθαρᾶς ἐνδεὴς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι τέως ὅτῳ διαλέξομαι θαρρῶν ὁμοίως. πότερον οὖν οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστί μοι; ἀλλ' ἀφαιρήσεταί μέ τις καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν καὶ προσαναγκάσει νοεῖν ἕτερα καὶ θαυμάζειν παρ' ἃ βούλομαι; ἢ τοῦτο μέν ἐστι τέρας ἤδη καὶ προσόμοιον τῷ γράφειν ἐφ' ὕδατος καὶ τῷ λίθον ἕψειν καὶ τῷ ἱπταμένων ὀρνίθων ἐρευνᾶν ἴχνη τῆς πτήσεως; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται, 249 συνεσόμεθα δήπουθεν αὐτοί πως ἑαυτοῖς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑποθήσεταί τι χρηστόν· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα τῷ κρείττονι

For by the mind we commune even with God, and by its aid we are enabled to see and to grasp things that escape the senses and are far apart in space, or rather have no need of space: that is to say, all of us who have lived so as to deserve such a vision, conceiving it in the mind and laying hold thereof."

Ah, but Pericles, inasmuch as he was a man of lofty soul and was bred as became a free man in a free city, could solace himself with such sublime arguments, whereas I, born of such men as now are,[1] must beguile and console myself with arguments more human; and thus I assuage the excessive bitterness of my sorrow, since I constantly endeavour to devise some comfort for the anxious and uneasy ideas which keep assailing me as they arise from this event, like a charm against some wild beast that is gnawing into my very vitals[2] and my soul, And first and foremost of the hardships that I shall have to face is this, that now I shall be bereft of our guileless intercourse and unreserved conversation. For I have no one now to whom I can talk with anything like the same confidence. What, you say, cannot I easily converse with myself? Nay, will not some one rob me even of my thoughts, and besides compel me to think differently, and to admire what I prefer not to admire? Or does this robbery amount to a prodigy unimaginable, like writing on water or boiling a stone,[3] or tracing the track of the flight of birds on the wing? Well then since no one can deprive us of our thoughts, we shall surely commune with ourselves in some fashion, and perhaps God will suggest some alleviation. For it is not likely that he who entrusts himself to God will be utterly

[1] *Iliad* 5. 304. [2] Cf. 243 c. [3] Two familiar proverbs.

παντάπασιν ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι παντελῶς ἔρημον· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ἐὴν ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσος ἐνδίδωσι[1] καὶ μένος ἐμπνεῖ B καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν μὴ πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἴπετό τοι καὶ Σωκράτει δαιμονία φωνὴ κωλύουσα πράττειν ὅσα μὴ χρεὼν ἦν· φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως· τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας ἡμῶν ἐγείροντος, ὅταν ἐπιστρέψας ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἑαυτὸν αὑτῷ τε πρότερον ξυγγένηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, κωλυόμενος ὑπ' οὐδενός. οὐ γὰρ C ἀκοῆς ὁ νοῦς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι τὰ δέοντα· ἀλλ' αἰσθήσεως ἔξω πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ μετουσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ· τίνα μὲν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως οὐ σχολὴ νῦν ἐπεξιέναι, τὸ δ' ὅτι γίνεται δῆλον[2] καὶ σαφεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἄδοξοί τινες οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἄξιοι τάττεσθαι μερίδι, ἀλλὰ D τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τὰ πρωτεῖα.[3]

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῖν παρέσεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς συνέσεσθαι, τὸ λίαν δυσχερὲς ἀφαιρετέον ἐστὶ τῆς λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καθειργμένον ἑπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτούς, εἶτ' ὀδυρόμενον, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐπαινῶ καρτερίας, τῶν θρήνων δὲ οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τί γὰρ ὄφελος πόντον ἐπ' 250 ἰχθυόεντα δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

[1] ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, δίδωσι MSS.
[2] δῆλον Cobet, δῆλοι Hertlein, MSS.
[3] πρωτεῖα Cobet, πρῶτα Hertlein, MSS.

neglected and left wholly desolate. But over him God stretches his hand,[1] endues him with strength, inspires him with courage, and puts into his mind what he must do. We know too how a divine voice accompanied Socrates and prevented him from doing what he ought not. And Homer also says of Achilles, "She put the thought in his mind," [2] implying that it is God who suggests our thoughts when the mind turns inwards and first communes with itself, and then with God alone by itself, hindered by nothing external. For the mind needs no ears to learn with, still less does God need a voice to teach us our duty: but apart from all sense-perception, communion with God is vouchsafed to the mind. How and in what manner I have not now leisure to inquire, but that this does happen is evident, and there are sure witnesses thereof—men not obscure or only fit to be classed with the Megarians,[3]—but such as have borne the palm for wisdom.

It follows therefore that since we may expect that God will be present with us in all our doings, and that we shall again renew our intercourse, our grief must lose its sharpest sting. For indeed in the case of Odysseus [4] too, who was imprisoned on the island for all those seven years and then bewailed his lot, I applaud him for his fortitude on other occasions, but I do not approve those lamentations. For of what avail was it for him to gaze on the fishy sea and shed

[1] *Iliad* 9. 420. [2] *Iliad* 1. 55.

[3] The Megarians on inquiring their rank among the Greeks from the Delphic oracle were told that they were not in the reckoning at all, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ ; cf. Theocritus 14. 47.

[4] Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.

δὲ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἀπαγορεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα μέχρις ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων[1] καὶ κινδύνων, τοῦτο ἔμοιγε φαίνεται μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἐπαινεῖν μὲν αὐτούς, μὴ μιμεῖσθαι δέ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὡς ἐκείνοις μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθύμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιόψεται B τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁρῶν ἀντιποιουμένους, δι' ἣνπερ ἄρα κἀκείνοις ἔχαιρεν· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεί τοι τὸν Νιρέα μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν ἀγαπᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν, ἀπείρῳ γὰρ ὅσῳ Λαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ κρείττους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἔμεινεν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τί δὲ δεῖ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπιζητοῦντα τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν Ὀδυσσέα φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς θεοφιλῆ, αὐτοῦ γε ἐξὸν ἀκούειν; C

Οὕνεκ' ἐπητής ἐσσι καὶ ἀγχίνοος καὶ ἐχέφρων.

δῆλον οὖν ὡς, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ταῦτα προσγένοιτο, τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἐλλείψει τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρησμὸν καλούμενός ⁻ε καὶ ἄκλητος ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τούτοις ἐμαυτὸν ψυχαγωγήσας ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ D μέρος ἄπειμι πάλιν, ὃ δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἀγεννές. Ὁμήρου τοί φασι δεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, οὐ δήπου συνόντος, ἀλλὰ κηρύττοντος ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Αἴαντας ἄμφω καὶ τὸν

[1] πόνων Hertlein suggests, φόβων MSS.

tears?[1] Never to abandon hope and despair of one's fate, but to play the hero in the extremes of toil and danger, does indeed seem to me more than can be expected of any human being. But it is not right to praise and not to imitate the Homeric heroes, or to think that whereas God was ever ready to assist them he will disregard the men of our day, if he sees that they are striving to attain that very virtue for which he favoured those others. For it was not physical beauty that he favoured, since in that case Nireus[2] would have been more approved; nor strength, for the Laëstrygons[3] and the Cyclops were infinitely stronger than Odysseus; nor riches, for had that been so Troy would never have been sacked. But why should I myself labour to discover the reason why the poet says that Odysseus was beloved by the gods, when we can hear it from himself? It was "Because thou art so wary, so ready of wit, so prudent."[4] It is therefore evident that if we have these qualities in addition, God on His side will not fail us, but in the words of the oracle once given of old to the Lacedaemonians, "Invoked or not invoked, God will be present with us."[5]

Now that I have consoled myself with these arguments I will go back to that other consideration which, though it seems trivial, nevertheless is generally esteemed to be not ignoble. Even Alexander, we are told, felt a need for Homer, not, of course, to be his companion, but to be his herald, as he was for Achilles and Patroclus and the two Ajaxes and

[1] *Odyssey* 5. 84
[2] *Iliad* 2. 673.
[3] *Odyssey* 10. 119 foll.
[4] *Odyssey* 13. 332.
[5] Cf. *Oration* 6. 201 c; Thucydides 1. 118.

Ἀντίλοχον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερορῶν ἀεὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἐφιέμενος δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἠγάπα τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ ἠρκεῖτο τοῖς δοθεῖσι· καὶ εἴπερ ἔτυχεν Ὁμήρου, τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἴσως ἂν 251
ἐπόθησε λύραν, ἢ τοῖς Πηλέως ἐκεῖνος ἐφύμνησε γάμοις, οὐ τῆς Ὁμήρου συνέσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα νομίσας, ἀλλ' ἀληθὲς ἔργον ἐνυφανθὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τὸ

Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν

καὶ

Ἠέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε

καὶ

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἐστί,

καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτά φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, δῆλα καὶ ἐναργῆ τὰ μὲν ὄντα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, τὰ δὲ γιγνόμενα.

Ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν εἴτε μέγεθος ἀρετῆς ὑπερέχον[1] B
καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐλάττων σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξῆγεν, ὥστε μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀρέγεσθαι,[2] εἴθ' ὑπερβολή τις ἀνδρείας καὶ θάρσους εἰς ἀλαζονείαν ἄγουσα[3] καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπουσα, ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ταύτης ὑπολαμ- C
βάνει τῆς μερίδος προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαπῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἥκιστα μεταποιούμενοι στέργομεν μέν, ὁπόταν ὁ κήρυξ

[1] ὑπερέχον Naber, ὑπάρχον Hertlein, MSS.
[2] ὀρέγεσθαι Petavius, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
[3] ἄγουσα Cobet, ῥέπουσα Hertlein, . . . ουσα V.

Antilochus. But Alexander, ever despising what he had and longing for what he had not, could never be content with his contemporaries or be satisfied with the gifts that had been granted to him. And even if Homer had fallen to his lot he would probably have coveted the lyre of Apollo on which the god played at the nuptials of Peleus;[1] and he would not have regarded it as an invention of Homer's genius but an actual fact that had been woven into the epic, as when for instance Homer says, "Now Dawn with her saffron robe was spread over the whole earth";[2] and "Then uprose the Sun";[3] and "There is a land called Crete";[4] or other similar statements of poets about plain and palpable things partly existing to this very day, partly still happening.

But in Alexander's case, whether a superabundance of virtue and an intelligence that matched the advantages with which he was endowed exalted his soul to such heights of ambition that he aimed at greater achievements than are within the scope of other men; or whether the cause was an excess of courage and valour that led him into ostentation and bordered on sinful pride, must be left as a general topic for consideration by those who desire to write either a panegyric of him or a criticism; if indeed anyone thinks that criticism also can properly be applied to him. I on the contrary can always be content with what I have and am the last to covet what I have not, and so am well content when my praises are uttered by a herald who has been an eyewitness and comrade-in-arms in all

[1] *Iliad* 24. 63.
[2] *Iliad* 8. 1.
[3] *Odyssey* 3. 1.
[4] *Odyssey* 19. 172.

ἐπαινῇ, θεατής τε καὶ συναγωνιστὴς πάντων ἡμῖν γεγονώς, μὴ τοὺς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῇ πεπλασμένους· ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φιλεῖν ὁμολογῶν μόνον, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπηλότερος ὢν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρᾳ τελεσθέντων.

Ἐνταῦθα ὑπέρχεταί μοι καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενον, D
ὡς οὐκ εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θρᾷκας
ἀφίξῃ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκείνην οἰκοῦν-
τας Ἕλληνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῳ μοι καὶ τραφέντι
πολὺς ἐντέτηκεν ἔρως ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων καὶ
πόλεων. ἴσως δὲ οὐ φαῦλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἐναπο-
λέλειπται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔρως ἡμῶν, οἷς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
τὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπάσιος ἐλθὼν ἂν γένοιο, δικαίαν 252
ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέ-
λοιπας ἐνθάδε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς εὐχόμενος·
ἐπεὶ τό γε ἰέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχέως
ἄμεινον· ἀλλ' ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἕξων
οὐκ ἀπαραμυθήτως οὐδὲ ἀψυχαγωγήτως ἐννοῶ,
συγχαίρων ἐκείνοις, ὅτι σε παρ' ἡμῶν ὄψονται.
Κελτοῖς γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν ἤδη διὰ σὲ συντάττω, ἄνδρα
εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελοῦντα καὶ κατ'
εὐνομίαν καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ῥητορείαν B
ἄκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρον, ἧς Ἕλληνες
μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μετεληλύθασι, λόγῳ τἀληθές,
ὥσπερ οὖν πέφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀπίστοις
μύθοις οὐδὲ παραδόξῳ τερατείᾳ προσέχειν ἡμᾶς,
ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐάσαντες.

that I have done; and who has never admitted any statements invented at random out of partiality or prejudice. And it is enough for me if he only admit his love for me, though on all else he were more silent than those initiated by Pythagoras.

Here however I am reminded of the report current that you are going not only to Illyria but to Thrace also, and among the Greeks who dwell on the shores of that sea.[1] Among them I was born and brought up, and hence I have a deeply rooted affection for them and for those parts and the cities there. And it may be that in their hearts also there still remains no slight affection for me: I am therefore well assured that you will, as the saying is, gladden their hearts by your coming, and there will be a fair exchange, since they will gain in proportion as I lose by your leaving me here. And I say this not because I wish you to go—for it were far better if you should return to me by the same road without delay—but the thought in my mind is that even for this loss I shall not be without comfort or consolation, since I can rejoice with them on seeing you just come from us. I say "us," since on your account I now rank myself among the Celts,[2] seeing that you are worthy to be counted among the most distinguished Greeks for your upright administration and your other virtues; and also for your consummate skill in oratory; in philosophy too you are thoroughly versed, a field wherein the Greeks alone have attained the highest rank; for they sought after truth, as its nature requires, by the aid of reason and did not suffer us to pay heed to incredible fables or impossible miracles like most of the barbarians.

[1] The Propontis. [2] Sallust was a native of Gaul.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ἔχει, ταυῦν ἀφείσθω. σὲ δέ· προπέμπειν ἤδη γὰρ ἄξιον μετ' εὐφημίας· ἄγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέῃ πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος C εὔνους, ἄγοι τε διὰ γῆς ἀσφαλῶς· κἂν πλεῖν δέῃ, στορεννύσθω τὰ κύματα· πᾶσι δὲ φανείης φίλος καὶ τίμιος, ἡδὺς μὲν προσιών, ἀλγεινὸς δὲ ἀπολείπων αὐτούς· στέργων δὲ ἡμᾶς ἥκιστα ποθήσειας ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνίαν. εὐμενῆ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σοι θεὸς ἀποφήνειε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν διδοίη, καὶ τὴν D οἴκαδε παρ' ἡμᾶς πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ παρασκευάζοι καὶ ταχεῖαν.

Ταῦτά σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεύχομαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις

Οὖλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν,
Νοστῆσαι οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

However, this subject also, whatever the truth about it may be, I must lay aside for the present. But as for you—for I must needs dismiss you with auspicious words—may God in His goodness be your guide wherever you may have to journey, and as the God of Strangers and the Friendly One[1] may He receive you graciously and lead you safely by land; and if you must go by sea, may He smooth the waves![2] And may you be loved and honoured by all you meet, welcome when you arrive, regretted when you leave them! Though you retain your affection for me, may you never lack the society of a good comrade and faithful friend! And may God make the Emperor gracious to you, and grant you all else according to your desire, and make ready for you a safe and speedy journey home to us!

In these prayers for you I am echoed by all good and honourable men; and let me add one prayer more: "Health and great joy be with thee, and may the gods give thee all things good, even to come home again to thy dear fatherland!"[3]

[1] These are regular epithets of Zeus.
[2] Theocritus 7. 57. [3] *Odyssey* 24. 402; and 10. 562.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

INTRODUCTION

On the strength of his Aristotelian "Paraphrases" Themistius may be called a scholar, though hardly a philosopher as he himself claimed. Technically he was a Sophist: that is to say he gave public lectures (ἐπιδείξεις), wrote exercises after the Sophistic pattern and went on embassies, which were entrusted to him solely on account of his persuasive charm. But he insisted that he was no Sophist, because he took no fees[1] and styled himself a practical philosopher.[2] He was indifferent to the Neo-Platonic philosophy,[3] and, since Constantius made him a Senator, he cannot have betrayed any zeal for the Pagan religion. From Julian's Pagan restoration he seems to have held aloof, and, though Julian had been his pupil, probably at Nicomedia, he did not appoint him to any office. Under the Christian Emperor Theodosius he held a prefecture. There is no evidence for a positive coolness, such as Zeller[4] assumes, between Themistius and Julian, and we know too little of their relations to assert with some critics that the respectful tone of this letter is ironical.[5] It was probably written after Julian had

[1] Themistius 260 C, 345 C.
[2] 245 D. [3] 33, 295 B. [4] Vol. 5, p. 742.
[5] Libanius *Epistle* 1061 mentions an Oration by Themistius in praise of Julian, but this is not extant.

become Emperor, though there is nothing in it that would not suit an earlier date; it is sometimes assigned to 355 when Julian was still Caesar. The quotations from Aristotle are appropriately addressed to Themistius as an Aristotelian commentator.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΙΩΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΙ

Ἐγώ σοι βεβαιῶσαι μέν, ὥσπερ οὖν γράφεις, τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ σφόδρα εὔχομαι, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μείζονος οὔσης τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτὸν ποιῇ· καί μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰομένῳ πρός τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος γέγονεν ἀρετῇ διαφέρων, εἶναι B
τὴν ἅμιλλαν φρίκη τις προσῄει καὶ δέος θαυμαστόν, μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξω, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐφίκωμαι. εἰς ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ἀνεπειθόμην τὴν σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν διαιτημάτων[1] αὐτός τε ἡδέως ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ὑμῖν προσάδειν ἠξίουν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ βαρέα φορτία φέροντες ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς ἐπικουφίζουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν. σὺ δέ μοι νῦν μεῖζον ἐποίη- C
σας διὰ τῆς ἔναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἔδειξας, ἐν ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδι λέγων, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφοῦντες ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντες καὶ πᾶσαν

[1] διαιτημάτων Naber, διηγημάτων Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

I EARNESTLY desire to fulfil your hopes of me even as you express them in your letter, but I am afraid I shall fall short of them, since the expectations you have raised both in the minds of others, and still more in your own, are beyond my powers. There was a time when I believed that I ought to try to rival men who have been most distinguished for excellence, Alexander, for instance, or Marcus;[1] but I shivered at the thought and was seized with terror lest I should fail entirely to come up to the courage of the former, and should not make even the least approach to the latter's perfect virtue. With this in mind I convinced myself that I preferred a life of leisure, and I both gladly recalled the Attic manner of living, and thought myself to be in sweet accord with you who are my friends, just as those who carry heavy burdens lighten their labour by singing.[2] But by your recent letter you have increased my fears, and you point to an enterprise in every way more difficult. You say that God has placed me in the same position as Heracles and Dionysus of old who, being at once philosophers and

[1] The Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

[2] Apparently an echo of Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 1. 9, Arnim.

σχεδὸν τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαιρό- 254
μενοι γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. κελεύεις δὲ πᾶσαν
ἀποσεισάμενον σχολῆς ἔννοιαν καὶ ῥᾳστώνης
σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίως ἀγωνιούμεθα·
εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν νομοθετῶν μέμνησαι, Σόλωνος,
Πιττακοῦ, Λυκούργου, καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων μεί-
ζονα χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν λέγεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν
δίκῃ νῦν περιμένειν. τούτοις ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις
ἐντυχὼν ἐξεπλάγην μικροῦ· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμ- B
βανον οὐδαμῶς θεμιτὸν κολακεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι,
ἐμαυτῷ δὲ συνειδὼς φύσεως μὲν ἕνεκα διαφέρον
οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε νῦν ὑπάρξαν, φιλο-
σοφίας δὲ ἐρασθέντι μόνον· τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ σιγῶ
τύχας, αἵ μοι τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἀτελῆ τέως
ἐφύλαξαν· οὐκ εἶχον οὖν ὅ, τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν
τοιούτων λόγων συμβαλεῖν, ἕως ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγεν
ὁ θεός, μή ποτε ἄρα προτρέπειν ἐθέλεις διὰ τῶν C
ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων δεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, οἷς
ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντα παραβεβλῆ-
σθαι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

Τοῦτο δὲ ἀποτρέποντός ἐστι πλέον ἢ πρὸς τὸν
βίον παρορμῶντος. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις τὸν πορθμὸν
τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν πλέων καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτον ῥᾳδίως οὐδὲ
εὐκόλως ὑφιστάμενος ἀκούοι παρά του μαντικὴν
ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ὡς χρεὼν αὐτὸν τὸν D
Αἰγαῖον ἀναμετρῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἔξω
θαλάσσης ἅψασθαι, καὶ "Νῦν μὲν" ὁρᾷς ὁ προ-
φήτης λέγοι "τείχη καὶ λιμένας, ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος

kings, purged almost the whole earth and sea of the evils that infested them. You bid me shake off all thought of leisure and inactivity that I may prove to be a good soldier worthy of so high a destiny. And besides those examples you go on to remind me of law-givers such as Solon, Pittacus, and Lycurgus, and you say that men have the right to expect from me now greater things than from any of these. When I read these words I was almost dumbfounded ; for on the one hand I was sure that it was unlawful for you as a philosopher to flatter or deceive ; on the other hand I am fully conscious that by nature there is nothing remarkable about me – there never was from the first nor has there come to be now,— but as regards philosophy I have only fallen in love with it (I say nothing of the fates that have intervened [1] to make that love so far ineffectual). I could not tell therefore how I ought to interpret such expressions, until God brought it into my mind that perhaps by your very praises you wished to exhort me, and to point out how great are those trials to which a statesman must inevitably be exposed every day of his life.

But your method is more likely to discourage than to make one eager for such an existence. Suppose that a man were navigating your strait,[2] and were finding even that none too easy or safe, and then suppose some professional soothsayer should tell him that he would have to traverse the Aegaean and then the Ionian Sea, and finally embark on the outer sea. "Here," that prophet would say, "you see towns and harbours,

[1] Euripides, *Orestes* 16.

[2] The Bosporus ; Themistius was probably at Constantinople.

οὐδὲ σκοπιὰν οὐδὲ πέτραν ὄψει, ἀλλ' ἀγαπήσεις καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσειπεῖν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὀψέ ποτε ἀψάμενος, τῷ θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξῃ, πρὸς αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου τυχεῖν ὅρμου καὶ τήν τε ναῦν σώαν παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς οἰκείοις κακῶν παραστῆσαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ μητρὶ γῇ δοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐσόμενον ἴσως ἄδηλον ἔσται σοι μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἡμέρας· ἆρ' οἴει τούτων ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων ἐκεῖνον πόλιν γ' ἂν[1] οἰκεῖν ἑλέσθαι πλησίον θαλάσσης, οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπόντα πλούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγιγνομένοις, γνωρίμων πολλῶν, ξενικῆς φιλίας, ἱστορίας ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ὑπεριδόντα σοφὸν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, ὃς κελεύει λαθεῖν βιώσαντα; καὶ σὺ δὲ ἔοικας τοῦτο καταμαθὼν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον λοιδορίαις καὶ προεξαιρεῖν τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. φὴς γάρ που σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν ἀπράγμονα καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐ καλῶς Ἐπικούρῳ ταῦτα ἐδόκει, πάλαι καὶ σφόδρα πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν ἐπὶ πολιτείαν προτρέπειν ἄξιον, καὶ τὸν ἧττον πεφυκότα καὶ τὸν οὔπω τελέως δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἴσως διαπορῆσαι χρή. λέγουσι γάρ τοι καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη πολλοὺς μὲν οὐ σφόδρα εὐφυῶς[2] ἔχοντας ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ βήματος,

255

B

C

[1] γ' ἂν Hertlein suggests, γοῦν MSS.
[2] εὐφυῶς Reiske adds.

but when you arrive there you will see not so much as a watch-tower or a rock, but you will be thankful to descry even a ship in the distance and to hail her crew. You will often pray to God that you may, however late, touch land and reach a harbour, though that were to be the last day of your life. You will pray to be allowed to bring home your ship safe and sound and restore your crew unscathed to their friends, and then to commit your body to mother earth. And this indeed may happen, but you will not be sure of it until that final day." Do you think that such a man after being told all this would choose even to live in a sea-port town? Would he not bid adieu to money-making and all the advantages of commerce, and caring little for troops of friends and acquaintances abroad, and all that he might learn about nations and cities, would he not approve the wisdom of the son of Neocles[1] who bids us "Live in obscurity"? Indeed, you apparently perceived this, and by your abuse of Epicurus you tried to forestall me and to eradicate beforehand any such purpose. For you go on to say that it was to be expected that so idle a man as he should commend leisure and conversations during walks. Now for my part I have long been firmly convinced that Epicurus was mistaken in that view of his, but whether it be proper to urge into public life any and every man, both him who lacks natural abilities and him who is not yet completely equipped, is a point that deserves the most careful consideration. We are told that Socrates dissuaded from the statesman's profession[2] many who had no great natural talent, and

[1] Epicurus; his advice was λαθὲ βιώσας.

[2] Literally "from the βῆμα," *i.e.* the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.

καὶ Γλαύκωνα ἐκεῖνον, Ξενοφῶν λέγει· τὸν δὲ[1]
τοῦ Κλεινίου παῖδα πειραθῆναι μὲν ἐπισχεῖν, οὐ D
δυνηθῆναι δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς
ὁρμῆς. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας καὶ ξυνιέντας αὐτῶν
προσαναγκάσομεν, θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἔρ-
γων κελεύοντες, ὧν οὐκ ἀρετὴ μόνον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ
προαίρεσις ὀρθὴ κυρία, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τύχη
κρατοῦσα πανταχοῦ καὶ βιαζομένη ῥέπειν ᾗπερ
ἂν ἐθέλῃ τὰ πράγματα; Χρύσιππος δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομισθῆναι δικαίως,
ἀγνοήσας δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καί
τινας ἄλλας αἰτίας τοιαύτας ἔξωθεν τοῖς πρακτι- 256
κοῖς παρεμπιπτούσας οὐ σφόδρα ὁμολογούμενα
λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἡμᾶς διὰ μυρίων ἐναργῶς
διδάσκει παραδειγμάτων. ποῦ γὰρ εὐτυχῆ καὶ
μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσομεν; ποῦ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν
Σικελιώτην εὐδαίμονα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν
ἔμελεν ἴσως οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λείπειν ἀτελεῖς τὰς
πράξεις, ἐφ' ἃς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥρμησαν, καὶ σφόδρα B
ἔμελε, καὶ πάντα ἂν εἵλοντο παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου.
σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις εἰ μὲν εὐσχημόνως
ἔφερον, ὥσπερ οὖν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην πάρα-
μυθίαν ἔσχον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μικράν, εὐδαίμονες
δὲ οὐκ ἂν λέγοιντο τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων
διημαρτηκότες, πλὴν ἴσως διὰ τὴν Στωικὴν
ἔνστασιν· πρὸς ἣν ῥητέον, ὡς οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστιν
ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύσει τὸ
ζῷον εὐδαιμονίας ὀρέγεται, κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ κατ' C

[1] καὶ Γλαύκωνα . . . λέγει· τὸν δὲ Wyttenbach, Γλαύκωνα δὲ ἐκεῖνον ὡς Ξενοφῶν λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS.

Glaucon too, Xenophon [1] tells us ; and that he tried to restrain the son of Cleinias [2] also, but could not curb the youth's impetuous ambition. Then shall we try to force into that career men who are reluctant and conscious of their deficiencies, and urge them to be self-confident about such great tasks? For in such matters not virtue alone or a wise policy is paramount, but to a far greater degree Fortune holds sway throughout and compels events to incline as she wills. Chrysippus [3] indeed, though in other respects he seems a wise man and to have been rightly so esteemed, yet in ignoring fortune and chance and all other such external causes that fall in to block the path of men of affairs, he uttered paradoxes wholly at variance with facts about which the past teaches us clearly by countless examples. For instance, shall we call Cato a fortunate and happy man? Or shall we say that Dio of Sicily had a happy lot? It is true that for death they probably cared nothing, but they did care greatly about not leaving unfinished the undertakings which they had originally set on foot, and to secure that end there is nothing that they would not have endured. In that they were disappointed, and I admit that they bore their lot with great dignity, as we learn, and derived no small consolation from their virtue ; but happy one could not call them, seeing that they had failed in all those noble enterprises, unless perhaps according to the Stoic conception of happiness. And with regard to that same Stoic conception we must admit that to be applauded and to be counted happy are two very different

[1] *Memorabilia* 3. 6. 1. [2] Alcibiades.
[3] The Stoic philosopher.

ἐκείνην μακαριστὸν τέλος τοῦ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ἐπαινετοῦ. ἥκιστα δὲ φιλεῖ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἡ βεβαιότης τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν. καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντας οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἄνευ ταύτης ἀναπνεῖν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον * * *[1] ἀληθῶς θεωροῦντες εἴτε καὶ πεποιήκασι καὶ στρατηγὸν λόγῳ,[2] καθάπερ οἱ τὰς ἰδέας εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς ξυντιθέντες, ἐν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἱδρῦσθαί που τῶν τυχαίων ὑπεράνω πάντων, ἢ τὸν Διογένους ἐκεῖνον

Ἄπολιν, ἄοικον, πατρίδος ἐστερημένον, D

οὐκ ἔχοντα μὲν εἰς ὅ,τι παρ᾽ αὐτῆς εὖ πάθῃ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐν τίνι σφαλῇ· τοῦτον δὲ ὃν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθε καὶ Ὅμηρος πρῶτος,

Ὧι λαοί τ᾽ ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν,

πῶς ἄν τις ἔξω τύχης ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν θέσιν φύλάσσοι; πάλιν δ᾽ ὁ αὐτὸν ὑποτιθεὶς ταύτῃ πόσης 257
αὐτῷ δεῖν οἰήσεται παρασκευῆς[3] καὶ φρονήσεως πηλίκης ὥστε τὰς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα ῥοπάς, καθάπερ πνεύματος κυβερνήτην, εὐσχημόνως φέρειν;

Οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστὸν ἀντιτάξασθαι προσπολεμούσῃ μόνον αὐτῇ, πολὺ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον[4] τῶν ὑπαρξάντων παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον φανῆναι. τούτοις ὁ μέγιστος ἑάλω βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν

[1] After λεγόμενον several words are lost.
[2] λόγῳ Reiske, λόγοι Hertlein, MSS.
[3] παρασκευῆς Hertlein would read, τῆς παρασκευῆς MSS.
[4] θαυμασιώτερον MSS ; Hertlein following Cobet reads θαυμαστότερον but in later Preface would restore MSS. reading.

things, and that if every living thing naturally desires happiness,[1] it is better to make it our aim to be congratulated on the score of happiness rather than to be applauded on the score of virtue. But happiness that depends on the chances of Fortune is very rarely secure. And yet men who are engaged in public life cannot, as the saying is, so much as breathe unless she is on their side . . . and they have created a merely verbal idea of a leader who is established somewhere above all the chances of Fortune in the sphere of things incorporeal and intelligible, just as men define the ideas, whether envisaging them truly or falsely imagining them. Or again they give us the ideal man, according to Diogenes "The man without a city, without a home, bereft of a fatherland," [2] that is to say, a man who can gain nothing from Fortune, and on the other hand has nothing to lose. But one whom we are in the habit of calling, as Homer did first, "The man to whom the people have been entrusted and so many cares belong," [3] how I ask shall we lead him beyond the reach of Fortune and keep his position secure? Then again, if he subject himself to Fortune, how great the provision he will think he must make, how great the prudence he must display so as to sustain with equanimity her variations in either direction, as a pilot must sustain the variations of the wind!

Yet it is nothing wonderful to withstand Fortune when she is merely hostile, but much more wonderful is it to show oneself worthy of the favours she bestows. By her favours the greatest of kings, the conqueror [4]

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1. 10. 6.
[2] Cf. *Oration* 6. 195B, note. [3] *Iliad* 2. 25. [4] Alexander.

καταστρεψάμενος Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου χαλεπώ- B
τερος καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζὼν φανείς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς
ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτοις ἁλόντες
τοῖς βέλεσιν ἄρδην ἀπώλοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες,
ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Λακεδαι-
μωνίων τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
αὐτοκράτορες μυρίοι. πολὺ μῆκος ἂν γένοιτο
πάντας ἀπαριθμουμένῳ τοὺς διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ
νίκας καὶ τρυφὴν ἀπολομένους· ὅσοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
δυσπραγιῶν ἐπικλυσθέντες δοῦλοι μὲν ἀντ' ἐλευ- C
θέρων, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ γενναίων καὶ σφόδρα
εὐτελεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἅπασιν ὤ-
φθησαν, τί με χρὴ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ δέλτου μεταγρά-
φοντα καταλέγειν; εἰ γὰρ ὤφελεν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων βίος ἀπορεῖν παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἀλλ'
οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτό ποτε τῶν τοιούτων
ἐνδεὴς παραδειγμάτων, ἕως ἂν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
διαμένῃ γένος.

Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλεῖστον D
ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγοιμ' ἂν
ἤδη σοι τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων
Νόμων, εἰδότι μὲν καὶ διδάξαντί με, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ
ὥσπερ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ποιούμενος παραγέγραφά
σοι τὴν ῥῆσιν ὧδέ πως ἔχουσαν. "Θεὸς μὲν
πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώ-
πινα διακυβερνῶσι ξύμπαντα. ἡμερώτερον μὴν
τούτοις συγχωρῆσαι τρίτον δεῖν ἕπεσθαι τέχνην." 258
εἶτα ὁποῖον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν
τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ βασιλέα θεῖον[1] ὑπο-
γράφων· "Γινώσκων ὁ Κρόνος ἄρα, καθάπερ
ἡμεῖς, φησί, διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις

[1] *θεῖον* Hertlein suggests, *θεὸν* MSS.

of Asia was ensnared, and showed himself more cruel and more insolent than Darius and Xerxes, after he had become the master of their empire. The shafts of her favours subdued and utterly destroyed the Persians, the Macedonians, the Athenian nation, Spartan magistrates, Roman generals, and countless absolute monarchs besides. It would be an endless business to enumerate all who have fallen victims to their wealth and victories and luxury. And as for those who, submerged by the tide of their misfortunes, from free men have become slaves, who have been humbled from their high estate after all their splendour and become poor and mean in the eyes of all men, what need now to go through the list of them as though I were copying it from a written record? Would that human life afforded no such instances! But it does not nor ever will lack such, so long as the race of man endures.

And to show that I am not the only one who thinks that Fortune has the upper hand in practical affairs, I will quote to you a passage from that admirable work the Laws of Plato. You know it well and indeed taught it to me, but I have set down the speech which runs something like this, and offer it as a proof that I am not really indolent. "God governs all things and with God Fortune and Opportunity govern all human affairs: but there is a milder view that Art must needs go with them and must be their associate."[1] He then indicates what must be the character of a man who is the craftsman and artificer of noble deeds and a divinely inspired king. Then he says: "Kronos therefore, as I have already related, knew that human

[1] *Laws* 709B.

οὐδαμῇ οὐδεμία ἱκανὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικοῦσα
αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα μὴ οὐχ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀδικίας
μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ' οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε B
βασιλέας καὶ ἄρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν οὐκ
ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειοτέρου καὶ ἀμείνονος,
δαίμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ
ὅσων ἡμεροί εἰσιν ἀγέλαι· οὐ βοῦς βοῶν οὐδὲ αἶγας
αἰγῶν ἄρχοντας ποιοῦμεν αὐτοῖς τινας, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς
αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἄμεινον ἐκείνων γένος. ταὐτὸν
δὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὢν γένος ἄμεινον ἡμῶν
ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, ὃ διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐ-
τοῖς ῥᾳστώνης, διὰ πολλῆς δ' ἡμῖν, ἐπιμελό- C
μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ δὴ ἀφθονίαν
δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαίμονα
τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ
νῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθείᾳ χρώμενος, ὅσων πό-
λεων μὴ θεός, ἀλλά τις ἄρχει θνητός, οὐκ ἔστι
κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψυξις· ἀλλὰ μι-
μεῖσθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸν
ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῖν D
ἀθανασίας ἔνεστι, τούτῳ πειθομένους δημοσίᾳ
καὶ ἰδίᾳ τάς τε οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν,
τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ὀνομάζοντας νόμον. εἰ δὲ
ἄνθρωπος εἷς ἢ ὀλιγαρχία τις ἢ δημοκρατία
ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὀρεγομένην
καὶ πληροῦσθαι τούτων δεομένην ἄρξει δὴ πόλεώς 259
τινος ἢ ἰδιώτου καταπατήσας τοὺς νόμους, οὐκ
ἔστι σωτηρίας μηχανή."

nature when endowed with supreme authority is never in any case capable of managing human affairs without being filled with insolence and injustice ; therefore, having regard to this he at that time set over our cities as kings and governors not men but beings of a more divine and higher race, I mean demons ; thus doing as we do now for our flocks and domestic herds. We never appoint certain oxen to rule over other oxen or goats to rule over goats, but we are their masters, a race superior to theirs. In like manner then God, since he loves mankind, has set over us a race of beings superior to ourselves, the race of demons ; and they with great ease both to themselves and us undertake the care of us and dispense peace, reverence, aye, and above all justice without stint, and thus they make the tribes of men harmonious and happy. And that account is a true one which declares that in our day all cities that are governed not by a god but by a mortal man have no relief from evils and hardships. And the lesson is that we ought by every means in our power to imitate that life which is said to have existed in the days of Kronos : and in so far as the principle of immortality is in us we ought to be guided by it in our management of public and private affairs, of our houses and cities, calling the distribution of mind 'law.'[1] But whether the government be in the hands of one man or of an oligarchy or democracy, if it have a soul that hankers after pleasure and the lower appetites and demands to indulge these, and if such a one rule over a city or individual having first trampled on the laws, there is no means of salvation." [2]

[1] A play on words : *διανομή* and *νόμος* are both connected with *νέμω* = "to distribute." [2] *Laws* 713–714 ; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.

Ταύτην ἐγώ σοι τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐξεπίτηδες ὅλην παρέγραψα, μή με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβῃς καὶ κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίους προφέροντα, τυχὸν μὲν ἐμφερῶς, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῶς πάντη ξυγκειμένους. ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἀληθὴς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος τί φησιν; ἀκούεις ὅτι, κἂν ἄνθρωπός τις ᾖ τῇ φύσει, θεῖον εἶναι χρὴ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαίμονα, πᾶν ἁπλῶς ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θνητὸν καὶ θηριῶδες τῆς ψυχῆς, πλὴν ὅσα ἀνάγκη διὰ B
τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραμένειν σωτηρίαν; ταῦτα εἴ τις ἐννοῶν δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἑλκόμενος βίον, ἆρά σοι φαίνεται τὴν Ἐπικούρειον θαυμάζειν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὸ προάστειον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν[1] καὶ τὰς μυρίνας καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δωμάτιον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου γε ἐγὼ ταῦτα προτιμήσας τῶν πόνων ὤφθην. ἥδιστα ἄν σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ πόνους διεξῆλθον καὶ τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξυγγενῶν, ὅτε τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἠρχόμην παιδείας, δείματα, C
εἰ μὴ σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἠπίστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσήκοντα καὶ φιλίᾳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον ὄντα μοι πραχθέντα πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ξένου μικρὰ παντελῶς γνωρίμου μοι γενομένου, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φημί, λέληθεν οὐδέν σε. ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐχ ὑπέστην τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα; καίτοι Καρτερίῳ μὲν οἶσθ' ὅπως συνηράμην πρὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον D
ἡμῖν ἀφικόμενος Ἀράξιον ἄκλητος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας Ἀρετῆς κτημάτων καὶ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων

[1] Ἀθηνῶν Cobet, Ἀθηναίων Hertlein, MSS.

I have purposely set down the whole of this speech for you lest you should think that I am cheating and defrauding by bringing forward ancient myths which may have some resemblance to the truth, but on the whole are not composed with regard to truth. But what is the true meaning of this narrative? You hear what it says, that even though a prince be by nature human, he must in his conduct be divine and a demi-god and must completely banish from his soul all that is mortal and brutish, except what must remain to safeguard the needs of the body. Now if, reflecting on this, one is afraid to be constrained to adopt a life from which so much is expected, do you therefore conclude that one admires the inaction recommended by Epicurus, the gardens and suburbs of Athens and its myrtles, or the humble home of Socrates? But never has anyone seen me prefer these to a life of toil. That toil of mine I would willingly recount to you, and the hazards that threatened me from my friends and kinsfolk at the time when I began to study under you, if you did not yourself know them well enough. You are well aware of what I did, in the first place, in Ionia in opposition to one who was related to me by ties of blood, but even more closely by ties of friendship, and that in behalf of a foreigner with whom I was very slightly acquainted, I mean the sophist. Did I not endure to leave the country for the sake of my friends? Indeed, you know how I took the part of Carterius when I went unsolicited to our friend Araxius to plead for him. And in behalf of the property of that admirable woman Arete and the wrongs she had suffered from her neighbours, did I

οὐκ εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφικόμην ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δύο, ἀσθενοῦς ἤδη μοι παντελῶς ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς πρότερον κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένης ἡμῖν ἀφίξεως, ὅτε περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ πολλοί, κινδυνεύων ἐγὼ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ παρέμενον, ὁποίας ἔγραφον ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σὲ 260
νῦν ὑπομνήσθητι, μήποτε ὀδυρμῶν πλήρεις, μήτι μικρὸν ἢ ταπεινὸν ἢ λίαν ἀγεννὲς ἐχούσας. ἀπιὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, ὅτε με φεύγειν ἐνόμιζον πάντες, οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἑορτῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν ἡδίστην ἔφην εἶναι τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον B

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων

ἔφην ἀντηλλάχθαι; οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἑστίας τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαχὼν ἐγανύμην, οὐκ ἀγρόν, οὐ κῆπον, οὐ δωμάτιον ἐκεῖ κεκτημένος.

Ἀλλὰ ἴσως ἔοικα ἐγὼ τὰς μὲν δυσπραγίας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρεὰς ἀγεννής τις εἶναι καὶ μικρός, ὅ γε ἀγαπῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας μᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν περὶ ἡμᾶς ὄγκου, τὴν σχολὴν δήπουθεν ἐκείνην ἐπαινῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πράξεων τοῦτον αἰτιώμενος τὸν βίον; C
ἀλλὰ μή ποτε χρὴ περὶ ἡμῶν ἄμεινον κρίνειν, οὐκ εἰς ἀπραξίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν βλέποντας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὸ

Ἕρδοι δ' ἕκαστος ἥντιν' εἰδείη τέχνην.

not journey to Phrygia for the second time within two months, though I was physically very weak from the illness that had been brought on by former fatigues?[1] Finally, before I went to Greece, while I was still with the army and running what most people would call the greatest possible risks, recall now what sort of letters I wrote to you, never filled with complaints or containing anything little or mean or servile. And when I returned to Greece, when everyone regarded me as an exile, did I not welcome my fate as though it were some high festival, and did I not say that the exchange to me was most delightful, and that, as the saying is, I had thereby gained "gold for bronze, the price of a hundred oxen for the price of nine"?[2] So great was my joy at obtaining the chance to live in Greece instead of in my own home, though I possessed there no land or garden or the humblest house.

But perhaps you think that though I can bear adversity in the proper spirit, yet I show a poor and mean spirit towards the good gifts of Fortune, seeing that I prefer Athens to the pomp that now surrounds me; because, you will doubtless say, I approve the leisure of those days and disparage my present life because of the vast amount of work that the latter involves. But perhaps you ought to judge of me more accurately, and not consider the question whether I am idle or industrious, but rather the precept, "Know thyself," and the saying, "Let every man practise the craft which he knows."[3]

[1] We know nothing more of the events here mentioned.

[2] A proverb derived from *Iliad* 6. 236, where Glaukos exchanges his golden armour for the bronze armour of Diomede.

[3] Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1431.

Μεῖζον ἔμοιγε φαίνεται τὸ βασιλεύειν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον καὶ φύσεως δεῖσθαι δαιμονιωτέρας βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγε· καὶ νῦν D
Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ταὐτὸ συντείνοντα παραγράψω λόγον, οὐ γλαῦκα Ἀθηναίοις ἄγων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συγγράμμασιν· "Εἰ δὲ δή τις ἄριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι, πῶς ἕξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβερόν. ἀλλὰ οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὢν τοῖς τέκνοις; ἀλλ' 261
οὐκ ἔτι ῥᾴδιον τοῦτο πιστεῦσαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν." ἑξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ νόμον λεγομένου βασιλέως διεξελθών, ὡς[1] ἐστὶν ὑπηρέτης καὶ φύλαξ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ βασιλέα καλῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτείας[2] οἰόμενος, προστίθησι· "Περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' B
ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, δοκεῖ τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἕνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν· τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι." εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγον φησίν· "Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νοῦν κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους· ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπον κελεύων

[1] ὡς Klimek, ὅς Hertlein, MSS.

[2] τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτείας Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle *Politics* 3. 16, 1287 a, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος MSS.

To me, at any rate, it seems that the task of reigning is beyond human powers, and that a king needs a more divine character, as indeed Plato too used to say. And now I will write out a passage from Aristotle to the same effect, not "bringing owls to the Athenians," [1] but in order to show you that I do not entirely neglect his writings. In his political treatises he says: "Now even if one maintain the principle that it is best for cities to be governed by a king, how will it be about his children? Ought his children to succeed him? And yet if they prove to be no better than anybody else, that would be a bad thing for the city. But you may say, though he has the power he will not leave the succession to his children? It is difficult indeed to believe that he will not; for that would be too hard for him, and demands a virtue greater than belongs to human nature." [2] And later on, when he is describing a so-called king who rules according to law, and says that he is both the servant and guardian of the laws, he does not call him a king at all, nor does he consider such a king as a distinct form of government; and he goes on to say: "Now as for what is called absolute monarchy, that is to say, when a king governs all other men according to his own will, some people think that it is not in accordance with the nature of things for one man to have absolute authority over all the citizens; since those who are by nature equal must necessarily have the same rights." [3] Again, a little later he says: "It seems, therefore, that he who bids Reason rule is really preferring the rule of God and the laws,

[1] A proverb; cf. "bringing coals to Newcastle."
[2] Aristotle, *Politics* 3. 15. 1286B. [3] *Ibid* 3. 16. 1287A.

προστίθησι καὶ θηρία· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦ- C
τον καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ὃς[1] διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἄνδρας· διόπερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως ὁ νοῦς νόμος ἐστίν."
ὁρᾷς, ὁ φιλόσοφος ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπι-
στοῦντι καὶ κατεγνωκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.
φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω ῥήματι τοῦτο λέγων· οὐδεμίαν
ἀξιόχρεων εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην
τύχης ὑπεροχήν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν παίδων τὸ κοινῇ D
τοῖς πολίταις συμφέρον προτιμᾶν ἄνθρωπόν γε
ὄντα ῥᾴδιον ὑπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὁμοίων
ἄρχειν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναί φησι, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τὸν
κολοφῶνα τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις νόμον μὲν εἶναί
φησι τὸν νοῦν χωρὶς ὀρέξεως, ᾧ μόνῳ τὰς
πολιτείας ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆναι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐδενί. ὁ
γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦς, κἂν ὦσιν ἀγαθοί, συμπέπλεκ-
ται θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, θηρίοις χαλεπωτάτοις.
ταῦτα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκρως 262
ὁμολογεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρείττονα χρὴ τῶν
ἀρχομένων εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα· ὅπερ εὑρεῖν
ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐ ῥᾴδιον·[2] . . . καὶ τρίτον ὅτι πάσῃ
μηχανῇ κατὰ δύναμιν νόμοις προσεκτέον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ
παραχρῆμα κειμένοις οὐδὲ ὡς ἔοικε νῦν τεθεῖσιν
ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οὐ πάντη κατὰ νοῦν βεβιωκότων, ἀλλ'
ὅστις μᾶλλον τὸν νοῦν καθαρθεὶς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἀφορῶν ἀδικήματα οὐδὲ εἰς B

[1] ὃς Hertlein would add.

[2] Several words indicating the second point enumerated seem to have been lost.

but he who bids man rule, adds an element of the beast. For desire is a wild beast, and passion which warps even the best men. It follows, therefore, that law is Reason exempt from desire." You see the philosopher seems here clearly to distrust and condemn human nature. For he says so in so many words when he asserts that human nature is in no case worthy of such an excess of fortune. For he thinks that it is too hard for one who is merely human to prefer the general weal of the citizens to his own children; he says that it is not just that one man should rule over many who are his equals; and, finally, he puts the finishing stroke [1] to what he has just said when he asserts that "law is Reason exempt from desire," and that political affairs ought to be entrusted to Reason alone, and not to any individual man whatever. For the reason that is in men, however good they may be, is entangled with passion and desire, those most ferocious monsters. These opinions, it seems to me, harmonise perfectly with Plato's; first, that he who governs ought to be superior to his subjects and surpass them not only in his acquired habits but also in natural endowment; a thing which is not easy to find among men; . . . thirdly, that he ought by every means in his power to observe the laws, not those that were framed to meet some sudden emergency, or established, as now appears, by men whose lives were not wholly guided by reason; but he must observe them only in case the lawgiver, having purified his mind and soul, in enacting those laws keeps in view not merely the crimes of the moment

[1] Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 153.

τὰς παρεστώσας τύχας τίθησι τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας φύσιν καταμαθὼν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἷόν[1] ἐστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποταπόν ἐστι τἀδίκημα τεθεαμένος τῇ φύσει, εἶθ' ὅσα δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐνταῦθα μεταφέρων καὶ τιθεὶς νόμους τοῖς πολίταις κοινούς, οὔτε εἰς φιλίαν οὔτε εἰς ἔχθραν ἀφορῶν οὔτε εἰς γείτονα καὶ ξυγγενῆ· C
κρεῖσσον δέ, εἰ μηδὲ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὕστερον ἢ ξένοις γράψας ἀποπέμποι νόμους, ἔχων γε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξειν ἰδιωτικὸν συνάλλαγμα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τὸν σοφὸν ἀκούω μετὰ τῶν φίλων συμβουλευσάμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀναιρέσεως τοῖς μὲν εὐπορίας ἀφορμήν, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχύνης αἰτίαν παρασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ἐλευθερώσαντα. οὕτως οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι τὰς τοιαύτας D
ἐκφυγεῖν κῆρας, κἂν τὸν αὑτοῦ νοῦν παράσχῃ τις ἀπαθῆ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

Ἃ δεδιὼς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἰκότως ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν βίον, καὶ σοὶ πειθόμενος μάλιστα ταῦτα ἐγὼ διανοοῦμαι, οὐχ ὅτι μοι τὸν ζῆλον πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνον ἔφης προκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, Σόλωνα καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Πιττακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι μεταβῆναί με φὴς ἐκ τῆς ὑποστέγου φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὴν ὑπαίθριον. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ τῷ 263
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ὑγιείας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ γυμναζομένῳ μετρίως οἴκαδε προύλεγες, ὅτι "Νῦν ἥκεις εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ μεταβέβηκας ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ παλαίστρας ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Διός, οὗ θεατὰς ἕξεις τούς τε ἀπανταχόθεν Ἕλληνας

[1] οἷόν Hertlein suggests, ὃ MSS.

or immediate contingencies; but rather recognises the nature of government and the essential nature of justice, and has carefully observed also the essential nature of guilt, and then applies to his task all the knowledge thus derived, and frames laws which have a general application to all the citizens without regard to friend or foe, neighbour or kinsman. And it is better that such a lawgiver should frame and promulgate his laws not for his contemporaries only but for posterity also, or for strangers with whom he neither has nor expects to have any private dealings. For instance, I hear that the wise Solon, having consulted his friends about the cancelling of debts, furnished them with an opportunity to make money, but brought on himself a disgraceful accusation.[1] So hard is it to avoid such fatalities, even when a man brings a passionless mind to the task of governing.

And since this sort of thing is what I dread, it is natural that I should often dwell on the advantages of my previous mode of life, and I am but obeying you when I reflect that you said not only that I must emulate those famous men Solon, Lycurgus and Pittacus, but also that I must now quit the shades of philosophy for the open air. This is as though you had announced to a man who for his health's sake and by exerting himself to the utmost was able to take moderate exercise at home: "Now you have come to Olympia and have exchanged the gymnasium in your house for the stadium of Zeus, where you will have for spectators Greeks who have

[1] Before Solon's measure to cancel debts was generally known, some of his friends borrowed large sums, knowing that they would not have to repay them.

καὶ πρώτους γε τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρή, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὓς ἐκπλῆξαι χρεών, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τό γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἦκον ἐπιδείξαντα," κατέβαλες ἂν εὐθέως καὶ τρέμειν ἐποίησας πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας· οὕτω κἀμὲ νῦν νόμιζε διατεθῆναι τοῖς B τοιούτοις λόγοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἴτε ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκα νῦν εἴτε ἐν μέρει σφάλλομαι τοῦ προσήκοντος εἴτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνω, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μάλα.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἀπορῆσαί μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν C τὴν σὴν παρέστη, ὦ φίλη κεφαλὴ καὶ πάσης ἔμοιγε τιμῆς ἀξία, βούλομαι δηλῶσαι· σαφέστερον γάρ πως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἔφησθα ὅτι τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει παρὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινεῖς βίον, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν σοφὸν ἐκάλεις μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τῷ πράττειν εὖ τιθέμενον, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν σκοποῦντα τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπορεῖν ἄττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλοις προτιμᾶν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονας. τούτους δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν D εἶναι φὴς τοὺς βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἴρηκεν οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθεῖσαν λέξιν, πλέον δὲ θάτερον ἐξ ὧν παραγέγραφας ἄν τις νοήσειε. τὸ γὰρ "Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοίαις ἀρχιτέκτονας" εἰς τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ

come from all parts, and foremost among them your own fellow-citizens, on whose behalf you must enter the lists; and certain barbarians will be there also whom it is your duty to impress, showing them your fatherland in as formidable a light as lies in your power." You would have disconcerted him at once and made him nervous before the games began. You may now suppose that I have been affected in the same manner by just such words from you. And you will very soon inform me whether my present view is correct, or whether I am in part deceived as to my proper course or whether indeed I am wholly mistaken.

But I should like to make clear to you the points in your letter by which I am puzzled, my dearest friend to whom I especially am bound to pay every honour: for I am eager to be more precisely informed about them. You said that you approve a life of action rather than the philosophic life, and you called to witness the wise Aristotle who defines happiness as virtuous activity, and discussing the difference between the statesman's life and the life of contemplation, showed a certain hesitation about those lives, and though in others of his writings he preferred the contemplative life, in this place you say he approves the architects of noble actions. But it is you who assert that these are kings, whereas Aristotle does not speak in the sense of the words that you have introduced: and from what you have quoted one would rather infer the contrary. For when he says: "We most correctly use the word 'act' of those who are the architects of public affairs by virtue of their intelligence,"[1] we must suppose that what he

[1] Aristotle, *Politics* 7. 3. 1325B.

τοὺς πολιτικοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς τοὺς νῷ τε καὶ λόγῳ πράττοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς τοὺς αὐτουργοὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πράξεων ἐργάτας 264
εἰρῆσθαι νομιστέον· οἷς οὐκ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ κατανοῆσαι καὶ τὸ πρακτέον τοῖς ἄλλοις φράσαι, προσήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἕκαστα μεταχειρίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν ὧν οἱ νόμοι διαγορεύουσι καὶ πολλάκις οἱ καιροὶ προσαναγκάζουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα καλοῦμεν, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἡρακλέα καλεῖν εἴωθεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει "μεγάλων ἐπίστορα ἔργων," αὐτουργότατον ἁπάντων γενόμενον.

Εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθὲς ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἢ καὶ μόνον B
ἐν τῷ πράττειν τὰ κοινά φαμεν εὐδαίμονας τοὺς κυρίους [1] ὄντας καὶ βασιλεύοντας πολλῶν, τί ποτε περὶ Σωκράτους ἐροῦμεν; Πυθαγόραν δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ τὸν Κλαζομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν ἴσως διὰ τὴν θεωρίαν κατ' ἄλλο φήσεις εὐδαίμονας· Σωκράτης δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν παραιτησάμενος καὶ τὸν πρακτικὸν ἀγαπήσας βίον οὐδὲ τῆς γαμετῆς ἦν τῆς αὑτοῦ κύριος οὐδὲ τοῦ παιδός· ἦπού C
γε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν πολιτῶν ἐκείνῳ κρατεῖν ὑπῆρχεν; ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος πρακτικός, ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς ἦν κύριος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου φημὶ μείζονα τὸν Σωφρονίσκου κατεργάσασθαι, τὴν Πλάτωνος αὐτῷ σοφίαν ἀνατιθείς, τὴν Ξενοφῶντος στρατηγίαν, τὴν Ἀντισθένους ἀνδρείαν, τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν Μεγαρικήν, τὸν Κέβητα,

[1] ἐν τῷ πράττειν . . . τοὺς κυρίους Hertlein suggests, τοὺς ἐν τῷ πράττειν . . . κυρίους MSS.

says applies to lawgivers and political philosophers and all whose activity consists in the use of intelligence and reason, but that it does not apply to those who do the work themselves and those who transact the business of politics. But in their case it is not enough that they should consider and devise and instruct others as to what must be done, but it is their duty to undertake and execute whatever the laws ordain and circumstances as well often force on them ; unless indeed we call that man an architect who is "well versed in mighty deeds," [1] a phrase which Homer in his poems usually applies to Heracles, who was indeed of all men that ever lived most given to do the work himself.

But if we conceive this to be true, or that only those are happy who administer public affairs and who are in authority and rule over many, what then are we to say about Socrates? As for Pythagoras and Democritus and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, you will perhaps say that they were happy in another sense of the word, because of their philosophic speculations. But as for Socrates who, having rejected the speculative life and embraced a life of action, had no authority over his own wife or his son, can we say of him that he governed even two or three of his fellow-citizens? Then will you assert that since he had no authority over any one he accomplished nothing? On the contrary I maintain that the son of Sophroniscus [2] performed greater tasks than Alexander, for to him I ascribe the wisdom of Plato, the generalship of Xenophon, the fortitude of Antisthenes, the Eretrian [3]

[1] *Odyssey* 21. 26. [2] The father of Socrates.
[3] This school was founded by Phaedo in Elis and later was transferred by Menedemus to Eretria.

τὸν Σιμμίαν, τὸν Φαίδωνα, μυρίους ἄλλους· καὶ D
οὔπω φημὶ τὰς γενομένας ἡμῖν ἐνθένδ' ἀποικίας,
τὸ Λύκειον, τὴν Στοάν, τὰς Ἀκαδημείας. τίς οὖν
ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου νίκην; τίς πόλις
ἄμεινον ᾠκήθη; τίς αὐτοῦ γέγονε βελτίων ἰδιώ-
της ἀνήρ; πλουσιωτέρους μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἂν
εὕροις, σοφώτερον δὲ οὐδένα οὐδὲ σωφρονέστερον
αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζόνα καὶ
ὑπερόπτην. ὅσοι δὲ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας,
διὰ τὸν Σωκράτη σώζονται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγὼ
μόνος, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρότερος[1] ἔοικεν ἐννοήσας 265
εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μὴ μεῖον αὐτῷ προσήκει φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ
θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν
δύναμιν. καί μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὀρθῶς ξυν-
νοῆσαι· νικᾶν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρείας ἐστὶ μάλιστα καὶ
τῆς τύχης, κείσθω δέ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς ἐντρεχοῦς
ταύτης φρονήσεως, ἀληθεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας
ἀναλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον τῆς τελείας ἔργον
ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσειεν ἄν τις εἰκότως, πότερον B
χρὴ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἢ θεὸν καλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ
ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἕκαστον
ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γνωρίζεσθαι, τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν ὁ
γνωρίσας θεῖός τις ἂν εἰκότως νομίζοιτο.

[1] *πρότερος* Hertlein suggests, *πρότερον* MSS.

and Megarian [1] philosophies, Cebes, Simmias,[2] Phaedo and a host of others; not to mention the offshoots derived from the same source, the Lyceum, the Stoa and the Academies. Who, I ask, ever found salvation through the conquests of Alexander? What city was ever more wisely governed because of them, what individual improved? Many indeed you might find whom those conquests enriched, but not one whom they made wiser or more temperate than he was by nature, if indeed they have not made him more insolent and arrogant. Whereas all who now find their salvation in philosophy owe it to Socrates. And I am not the only person to perceive this fact and to express it, for Aristotle it seems did so before me, when he said that he had just as much right to be proud of his treatise on the gods as the conqueror [3] of the Persian empire. And I think he was perfectly correct in that conclusion. For military success is due to courage and good fortune more than anything else or, let us say, if you wish, to intelligence as well, though of the common everyday sort. But to conceive true opinions about God is an achievement that not only requires perfect virtue, but one might well hesitate whether it be proper to call one who attains to this a man or a god. For if the saying is true that it is the nature of everything to become known to those who have an affinity with it, then he who comes to know the essential nature of God would naturally be considered divine.

[1] The Megarian school founded by Euclid was finally absorbed by the Cynics.

[2] Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans; cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, where they discuss with Socrates.

[3] Alexander; Julian seems to be misquoting Plutarch, *Moralia* 78D.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐοίκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὁρμήσαντες βίον τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τὸν πρακτικόν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραιτησαμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθης, Ἀρείου, C
Νικολάου, Θρασύλλου καὶ Μουσωνίου μνημονεύσω. τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως τις ἦν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄρειος, ὡς φασί, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπιτροπεῦσαι παρῃτήσατο, Θράσυλλος δὲ Τιβερίῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσει χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ξυγγενόμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογήσατο, δείξας ὅστις ἦν, ὤφλεν ἂν εἰς τέλος αἰσχύ- D
νην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὕτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὤνησεν ἡ πολιτεία, Νικόλαος δὲ πράξεων μὲν οὐ μεγάλων αὐτουργὸς γέγονε, γνώριμος δέ ἐστι μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσώνιος ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀνδρείως καὶ νὴ Δῖ ἤνεγκεν ἐγκρατῶς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὠμότητα γέγονε γνώριμος, ἴσως οὐκ ἔλαττον εὐδαιμονῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείας. Ἄρειος δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραιτησάμενος ἑκὼν 266
αὐτὸν ἀπεστέρει τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τοῦτ' ᾤετο κυριώτατον. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἄπρακτος εἶ, μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως ἄρχων; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ. ἔξεστι γάρ σοι φιλοσόφους πολλοὺς ἀποφήναντι, εἰ δὲ μή, τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας μείζονα τὸν βίον εὐεργετῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ὁμοῦ βασιλέων. οὐ μικρᾶς γὰρ μερίδος ὁ φιλόσοφος B

But since I seem to have harked back to the life of contemplation and to be comparing it with the life of action, though in the beginning of your letter you declined to make the comparison, I will remind you of those very philosophers whom you mentioned, Areius,[1] Nicolaus,[2] Thrasyllus,[3] and Musonius.[4] So far from any one of these governing his own city, Areius we are told refused the governorship of Egypt when it was offered to him, and Thrasyllus by becoming intimate with the harsh and naturally cruel tyrant Tiberius would have incurred indelible disgrace for all time, had he not cleared himself in the writings that he left behind him and so shown his true character; so little did his public career benefit him. Nicolaus did not personally do any great deeds, and he is known rather by his writings about such deeds; while Musonius became famous because he bore his sufferings with courage, and, by Zeus, sustained with firmness the cruelty of tyrants; and perhaps he was not less happy than those who administered great kingdoms. As for Areius, when he declined the governorship of Egypt he deliberately deprived himself of the highest end, if he really thought that this was the most important thing. And you yourself,—may I ask, do you lead an inactive life because you are not a general or a public speaker and govern no nation or city? Nay, no one with any sense would say so. For it is in your power by producing many philosophers, or even only three or four, to confer more benefit on the lives of men than many kings put together. To no trivial province

[1] Cf. *Caesars* 326B note. [2] A historian under Augustus. [3] The Platonic philosopher and astrologer, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 21. [4] The Stoic philosopher exiled by Nero.

προέστηκεν, οὐδέ, καθάπερ ἔφης, συμβουλῆς ἐστι μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκεῖνος κύριος, οὐδὲ ἡ πρᾶξις εἰς λόγον αὖθις αὐτῷ περιίσταται, ἔργῳ δὲ βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενος τοιοῦτος, ὁποίους βούλεται τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι, πιθανώτερος ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμώτερος τῶν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις παρορ- C
μώντων.

Ἀλλ' ἐπανιτέον εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπεραντέον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μείζονα ἴσως οὖσαν τοῦ δέοντος. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι μήτε τὸν πόνον φεύγων μήτε τὴν ἡδονὴν θηρεύων μήτε ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ ῥαστώνης ἐρῶν τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνω βίον· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὔτε παιδείαν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδὼς τοσαύτην οὔτε φύσεως D
ὑπεροχήν, καὶ προσέτι δεδιώς, μὴ φιλοσφίαν, ἧς ἐρῶν οὐκ ἐφικόμην, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲ ἄλλως εὐδοκιμοῦσαν διαβάλλω, πάλαι τε ἔγραφον ἐκεῖνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀπελυσάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοίη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρίστην τύχην καὶ φρόνησιν ἀξίαν τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν ἔκ τε τοῦ κρείττονος τό γε πλέον καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἁπάσῃ μηχανῇ[1] βοηθητέος εἶναί 267
μοι δοκῶ, προτεταγμένος ὑμῶν καὶ προκινδυνεύων. εἰ δέ τι μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευῆς καὶ ἧς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δι' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι, χαλεπαίνειν οὐ χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ

[1] ἁπάσῃ μηχανῇ follows ὑμῶν in MSS.; Hertlein suggests present reading.

is the philosopher appointed, and, as you said yourself, he does not only direct counsels or public affairs, nor is his activity confined to mere words; but if he confirm his words by deeds and show himself to be such as he wishes others to be, he may be more convincing and more effective in making men act than those who urge them to noble actions by issuing commands.

But I must go back to what I said at the beginning, and conclude this letter, which is perhaps longer already than it should be. And the main point in it is that it is not because I would avoid hard work or pursue pleasure, nor because I am in love with idleness and ease that I am averse to spending my life in administration. But, as I said when I began, it is because I am conscious that I have neither sufficient training nor natural talents above the ordinary; moreover, I am afraid of bringing reproach on philosophy, which, much as I love it, I have never attained to, and which on other accounts has no very good reputation among men of our day. For these reasons I wrote all this down some time ago, and now I have freed myself from your charges as far as I can.

May God grant me the happiest fortune possible, and wisdom to match my fortune! For now I think I need assistance from God above all, and also from you philosophers by all means in your power, since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger. But should it be that blessings greater than of my furnishing and than the opinion that I now have of myself should be granted to men by God through my instrumentality, you must not resent my words. For being conscious of no good

συνειδὼς ἀγαθὸν πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι μηδὲ οἴομαι τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τε[1] οὐδέν, ὡς ὁρᾷς αὐτός, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ μεγάλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τὸ B πᾶν ἐπιτρέπειν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν τε ἐλλειμμάτων εἴην ἂν ἀνεύθυνος καί, γενομένων ἁπάντων δεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἂν καὶ μέτριος εἴην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἐμαυτὸν ἔργοις ἐπιγράφων, τῷ θεῷ δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν δίκαιον, προσανατεθεικὼς ἅπαντα αὐτός τε εἴσομαι καὶ ὑμᾶς προτρέπω τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι.

[1] τε Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.

thing in me, save this only, that I do not even think that I possess the highest talent, and indeed have naturally none, I cry aloud and testify[1] that you must not expect great things of me, but must entrust everything to God. For thus I shall be free from responsibility for my shortcomings, and if everything turns out favourably I shall be discreet and moderate, not putting my name to the deeds of other men,[2] but by giving God the glory for all, as is right, it is to Him that I shall myself feel gratitude and I urge all of you to feel the same.

[1] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 23. [2] Cf. *Caesars* 323 B.

LETTER TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS

INTRODUCTION

Of the manifestoes addressed by Julian to Rome, Sparta, Corinth, and Athens, defending his acceptance of the title of Emperor and his open rupture with Constantius, the last alone survives. It was written in Illyricum in 361, when Julian was on the march against Constantius, and is the chief authority for the events that led to his elevation to the Imperial rank. Julian writes to the Athenians of the fourth Christian century as though they still possessed the influence and standards of their forefathers. He was well known at Athens, where he had studied before his elevation to the Caesarship and he was anxious to clear himself in the eyes of the citizens. For the first time he ventures to speak the truth about Constantius and to describe the latter's ruthless treatment of his family. His account of the revolution at Paris is supplemented by Ammianus 20, Zosimus 3. 9, and the *Epitaph on Julian* by Libanius.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ

Πολλῶν εἰργασμένων τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἐκείνοις μόνον τότε ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγηγερμένων τροπαίων ὑπέρ τε ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἠγωνίσατο μόνη πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδέν ἐστι τηλικοῦτον ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσαύτη, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ B ἔνεστι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁμιλληθῆναι πόλεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ αὗται, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἵνα μὴ μεμνημένος ἔπειτα ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἢ προτιμᾶν ἑτέρας ἑτέραν ἐν οἷς διαμφισβητοῦσι νομισθείην ἢ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν, ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες, ἐνδεέστερον ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐλαττουμένας, τοῦτο ἐθέλω φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ᾧ C μηδὲν ἀντίπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ δικαιοσύνης παρείλεσθε,

LETTER TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

MANY were the achievements of your forefathers of which you are still justly proud, even as they were of old; many were the trophies for victories raised by them, now for all Greece in common, now separately for Athens herself, in those days when she contended single-handed against all the rest of Greece as well as against the barbarian: but there was no achievement and no display of courage on your part so prodigious that other cities cannot in their turn rival it. For they too wrought some such deeds in alliance with you, and some on their own account. And that I may not by recalling these and then balancing them be thought either to pay more honour to one state than to another in the matters in which they are your rivals, or to praise less than they deserve those who proved inferior, in order to gain an advantage, after the manner of rhetoricians, I desire to bring forward on your behalf only this fact to which I can discover nothing that can be set against it on the part of the other Greek states, and which has been assigned to you by ancient tradition. When the Lacedaemonians were in power you took that power away from them not by violence but by your reputation for justice; and

καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐθρέψαντο νόμοι. καίτοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως ὄντα λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἶμαι τῶν 269
ἔργων ὅμως ἐπιστώσασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι δίκαιον ἴσως ἄν τῳ καὶ ψευδῶς συμβαίη, καὶ τυχὸν οὐ παράδοξον ἐν πολλοῖς φαύλοις ἕνα γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον. ἦ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ παρὰ Μήδοις ὑμνεῖταί τις Δηιόκης Ἄβαρίς τε ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις καὶ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦτο ἦν θαυμαστόν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ἀδικωτάτοις γεγονότες ἔθνεσι τὴν δίκην ὅμως ἐτίμησαν, τὼ μὲν ἀληθῶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρείας χάριν πλαττό- B
μενος. δῆμον δὲ ὅλον καὶ πόλιν ἐραστὰς ἔργων καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἔξω τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὑρεῖν. βούλομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἑνὸς τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν πολλῶν γε ὄντων ἔργων ὑπομνῆσαι. Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι διανοουμένου λάθρᾳ καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, εἶτα μὴ τολμῶντος εἰς τὸν δῆμον C
λέγειν, ἑνὶ δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος πιστεύσειν τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ὅνπερ ἂν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονήσας προέληται, προυβάλετο μὲν ὁ δῆμος τὸν Ἀριστείδην· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἔκρυψε μὲν τὸ ῥηθέν, ἐξήνεγκε δὲ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς οὔτε λυσιτελέστερον οὔτε ἀδικώτερον εἴη τι τοῦ βουλεύματος· καὶ

it was your laws that nurtured Aristides the Just. Moreover, brilliant as were these proofs of your virtue, you confirmed them by still more brilliant actions. For to be reputed just might perhaps happen to any individual even though it were not true; and perhaps it would not be surprising that among many worthless citizens there should be found one virtuous man. For even among the Medes is not a certain Deioces [1] celebrated, and Abaris [2] too among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis [3] among the Scythians? And in their case the surprising thing was that, born as they were among nations who knew nothing of justice, they nevertheless prized justice, two of them sincerely, though the third only pretended to do so out of self-interest. But it would be hard to find a whole people and city enamoured of just deeds and just words except your own. And I wish to remind you of one out of very many such deeds done in your city. After the Persian war Themistocles [4] was planning to introduce a resolution to set fire secretly to the naval arsenals of the Greeks, and then did not dare to propose it to the assembly; but he agreed to confide the secret to any one man whom the people should elect by vote; and the people chose Aristides to represent them. But he when he heard the scheme did not reveal what he had been told, but reported to the people that there could be nothing more profitable or more dishonest than that advice.

[1] The first King of Media; reigned 709–656 B.C.

[2] A priest of Apollo whose story and date are uncertain.

[3] A Scythian prince who visited Athens at the end of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5. 32; Lucian, *Anacharsis*.

[4] The story is told in Plutarch, *Themistocles*.

ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο παραχρῆμα καὶ παρητήσατο, πάνυ γε νὴ Δία μεγαλοψύχως καὶ ὃν ἐχρῆν τρόπον ἄνδρας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ θεῷ τρεφομένους. D

Οὐκοῦν εἰ ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν μὲν ἦν πάλαι, σώζεται δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔτι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμά τι σμικρόν, εἰκός ἐστιν ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραττομένων ἀφορᾶν οὐδὲ εἴ τις ὥσπερ δι' ἀέρος ἱπτάμενος διὰ τῆς γῆς ἐβάδισεν ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει καὶ ἀτρύτῳ ῥώμῃ, σκοπεῖν δὲ ὅτῳ ταῦτα μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου κατείργασται, κᾆτα ἂν μὲν φαίνηται 270 ξὺν δίκῃ πράττων, ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτὸν ἴσως καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντες ἐπαινεῖτε, τῆς δίκης δὲ ὀλιγωρήσας ἀτιμάζοιτο ἂν παρ' ὑμῶν εἰκότως. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ὡς τὸ δίκαιον ἀδελφὸν φρονήσει. τοὺς οὖν ἀτιμάζοντας τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν καὶ ὡς εἰς τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν θεὸν ἀσεβοῦντας ἐξελαύνοιτε. βούλομαι οὖν ὑμῖν τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι μὲν ἀπαγγεῖλαι δὲ ὅμως, ὅπως, εἴ τι λέληθεν· εἰκὸς B δὲ ἔνια καὶ ὅσα μάλιστα τοῖς πᾶσι γνωσθῆναι προσήκει· ὑμῖν τε καὶ δι' ὑμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι γένοιτο γνώριμα. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑπολάβῃ με ληρεῖν ἢ φλυαρεῖν, εἰ περὶ τῶν πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γεγονότων οὐ πάλαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον, ποιεῖσθαί τινας ἐπιχειρήσαιμι λόγους· οὐδένα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, λανθάνειν δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλα εἰκός·

Whereupon the city at once voted against it and rejected it, very nobly, by Zeus, and as it behoved men to do who are nutured under the eyes of the most wise goddess.[1]

Then if this was your conduct of old, and from that day to this there is kept alive some small spark as it were of the virtue of your ancestors, it is natural that you should pay attention not to the magnitude merely of any performance, nor whether a man has travelled over the earth with incredible speed and unwearied energy as though he had flown through the air; but that you should rather consider whether one has accomplished this feat by just means, and then if he seems to act with justice, you will perhaps all praise him both in public and private; but if he have slighted justice he will naturally be scorned by you. For there is nothing so closely akin to wisdom as justice. Therefore those who slight her you will justly expel as showing impiety towards the goddess who dwells among you. For this reason I wish to report my conduct to you, though indeed you know it well, in order that if there is anything you do not know—and it is likely that some things you do not, and those in fact which it is most important for all men to be aware of—it may become known to you and through you to the rest of the Greeks. Therefore let no one think that I am trifling and wasting words if I try to give some account of things that have happened as it were before the eyes of all men, not only long ago but also just lately. For I wish none to be ignorant of anything that concerns me, and naturally everyone cannot know

[1] Athene.

ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον τῶν C
ἐμαυτοῦ.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ὅθενπερ καὶ Κωνσταντίῳ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ὥρμηται, φανερόν. τὼ γὰρ ἡμετέρω πατέρε γεγόνατον ἀδελφὼ πατρόθεν. οὕτω δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὄντας συγγενεῖς ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος οὗτος βασιλεὺς οἷα εἰργάσατο, ἓξ μὲν ἀνεψιοὺς ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τὸν ἐμόν,[1] ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θεῖον, καὶ προσέτι κοινὸν ἕτερον τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς D
θεῖον ἀδελφόν τε ἐμὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀκρίτους κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν ἐθελήσας μὲν κτεῖναι, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγήν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς σφαγῆς ἐξέδυσε[2] τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα, τί με δεῖ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἄρρητα ἀναμετρεῖσθαι; μετεμέλησε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί, καὶ ἐδήχθη δεινῶς, ἀπαιδίαν τε ἐντεῦθεν νομίζει 271
δυστυχεῖν, τά τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ εὐτυχῶς πράττειν ἐκ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνει. ταῦτα ἐθρύλουν οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τότε καὶ τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον, τοῦτο νῦν πρῶτον ἀκούοντα τὸ ὄνομα· κτείνας γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρῴων μεταλαχεῖν εἴασε τάφων οὐδὲ τῆς εὐαγοῦς ἠξίωσε μνήμης.

Ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, ἔλεγον τοσαῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ B
ἔπειθον ἡμᾶς,[3] ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεὶς εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ ταραχαῖς εἴξας ἀτάκτου καὶ

[1] τὸν ἐμὸν Hertlein suggests, ἐμὸν MSS.
[2] ἐξέδυσε Hertlein suggests, ἐρρύσατο οὐδὲ Cobet, ἐρρύσατο MSS. [3] ἡμᾶς Hertlein, Reiske suggest, ὑμᾶς MSS.

every circumstance. First I will begin with my ancestors.

That on the father's side I am descended from the same stock as Constantius on his father's side is well known. Our fathers were brothers, sons of the same father. And close kinsmen as we were, how this most humane Emperor treated us! Six of my cousins and his, and my father who was his own uncle and also another uncle of both of us on the father's side, and my eldest brother, he put to death without a trial; and as for me and my other brother,[1] he intended to put us to death but finally inflicted exile upon us; and from that exile he released me, but him he stripped of the title of Caesar just before he murdered him. But why should I "recount," as though from some tragedy, "all these unspeakable horrors?"[2] For he has repented, I am told, and is stung by remorse; and he thinks that his unhappy state of childlessness is due to those deeds, and his ill success in the Persian war he also ascribes to that cause. This at least was the gossip of the court at the time and of those who were about the person of my brother Gallus of blessed memory, who is now for the first time so styled. For after putting him to death in defiance of the laws he neither suffered him to share the tombs of his ancestors nor granted him a pious memory.

As I said, they kept telling us and tried to convince us that Constantius had acted thus, partly because he was deceived, and partly because he yielded to the violence and tumult of an undis-

[1] Gallus.

[2] Euripides, *Orestes* 14. *τί τἄρρητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαί με δεῖ;*

ταραχώδους στρατεύματος. τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν ἐπῆδον ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατακεκλεισμένοις, οὐδένα ἐῶντες προσελθεῖν, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι[1] φυγῆς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι, ἐμὲ δὲ κομιδῇ μειράκιον ἔτι τῶν διδασκαλείων ἀπαγαγόντες. πῶς ἂν ἐνταῦθα φράσαιμι περὶ τῶν C
ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, οὓς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κτήματι διάγοντες,[2] ὥσπερ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τηρούμενοι, μηδενὸς ἡμῖν προσιόντος ξένου μηδὲ τῶν πάλαι γνωρίμων ἐπιτρεπομένου τινὸς ὡς ἡμᾶς φοιτᾶν, διεζῶμεν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι παντὸς μὲν μαθήματος σπουδαίου, πάσης δὲ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως, ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς οἰκετείαις τρεφόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δούλοις ὥσπερ ἑταίροις D
συγγυμναζόμενοι; προσῄει γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἐπετρέπετο τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐγὼ μὲν μόγις ἀφείθην διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐτυχῶς, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καθείρχθη δυστυχῶς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι περὶ τὸν τρόπον ἄγριον καὶ τραχὺ τὸν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ὀρείου τροφῆς συνηυξήθη. δίκαιος οὖν οἶμαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ ταύτης ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν μεταδοὺς τῆς τροφῆς, ἧς ἐμὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καθαρὸν ἀπέφηναν 272
καὶ ἐξάντη, τῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐνέδωκεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθόντι

[1] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι φυγῆς Hertlein suggests, ἀπὸ τρᾶ φυγῆς V, ἀπο τρᾶ φυγῆς Petavius.
[2] διάγοντες Hertlein suggests, διαγαγόντες MSS.

ciplined and mutinous army. This was the strain they kept up to soothe us when we had been imprisoned in a certain farm[1] in Cappadocia; and they allowed no one to come near us after they had summoned him from exile in Tralles and had dragged me from the schools, though I was still a mere boy. How shall I describe the six years we spent there? For we lived as though on the estate of a stranger, and were watched as though we were in some Persian garrison, since no stranger came to see us and not one of our old friends was allowed to visit us; so that we lived shut off from every liberal study and from all free intercourse, in a glittering servitude, and sharing the exercises of our own slaves as though they were comrades. For no companion of our own age ever came near us or was allowed to do so.

From that place barely and by the help of the gods I was set free, and for a happier fate; but my brother was imprisoned at court and his fate was ill-starred above all men who have ever yet lived. And indeed whatever cruelty or harshness was revealed in his disposition was increased by his having been brought up among those mountains. It is therefore I think only just that the Emperor should bear the blame for this also, he who against our will allotted to us that sort of bringing-up. As for me, the gods by means of philosophy caused me to remain untouched by it and unharmed; but on my brother no one bestowed this boon. For when he had come straight from the country to the court, the moment that Constantius had invested him with

[1] The castle of Macellum.

ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν ἁλουργὲς ἱμάτιον,
αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἀρξάμενος οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο
πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελεῖν τὸ
πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον ἀρκεσθείς. καίτοι τοῦ ζῆν
γοῦν ἄξιος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύειν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειος.
ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν καὶ τούτου στέρεσθαι. ξυγχω-
ρῶ, λόγον γε πάντως ὑποσχόντα πρότερον, B
ὥσπερ τοὺς κακούργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν
λῃστὰς ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δήσαντι κτείνειν,
τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας δὲ τιμάς, ἃς εἶχον, καὶ γενο-
μένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἰδιώτας ἀκρίτους φησὶ δεῖν
ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τί γάρ, εἰ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων εἶχεν
ἀποφῆναι τοὺς αἰτίους; ἐδέδοντο γὰρ αὐτῷ C
τινων ἐπιστολαί, Ἡράκλεις, ὅσας ἔχουσαι κατ'
αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνος ἀγανακτήσας
ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ ἥκιστα βασιλικῶς ἐφῆκε
τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ζῆν ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπεπρά-
χει. πῶς γάρ; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι
κοινὸς Ἕλλησιν ἅμα καὶ βαρβάροις ὁ νόμος,
ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικίας ὑπάρχοντας; ἀλλ' ἴσως
μὲν ἠμύνατο πικρότερον. οὐ μὴν ἔξω πάντη
τοῦ εἰκότος· τὸν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς εἰκός
τι καὶ ποιεῖν, εἴρηται καὶ πρόσθεν. ἀλλ' εἰς D
χάριν ἑνὸς ἀνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ, καὶ
προσέτι τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τὸν ἀνεψιόν,
τὸν καίσαρα, τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα γενόμενον,

the purple robe he at once began to be jealous of him, nor did he cease from that feeling until, not content with stripping him of the purple, he had destroyed him. Yet surely he deserved to live, even if he seemed unfit to govern. But someone may say that it was necessary to deprive him of life also. I admit it, only on condition that he had first been allowed to speak in his own defence as criminals are. For surely it is not the case that the law forbids one who has imprisoned bandits to put them to death, but says that it is right to destroy without a trial those who have been stripped of the honours that they possessed and have become mere individuals instead of rulers. For what if my brother had been able to expose those who were responsible for his errors? For there had been handed to him the letters of certain persons, and, by Heracles, what accusations against himself they contained! And in his resentment at these he gave way in most unkingly fashion to uncontrolled anger, but he had done nothing to deserve being deprived of life itself. What! Is not this a universal law among all Greeks and barbarians alike, that one should defend oneself against those who take the initiative in doing one a wrong? I admit that he did perhaps defend himself with too great cruelty; but on the whole not more cruelly than might have been expected. For we have heard it said before [1] that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch,[2] his chamberlain who was also his chief cook, that Constantius gave over to his most inveterate enemies his own cousin,

[1] Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 41.
[2] Eusebius; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 11; 22. 3.

τὸν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς πατέρα, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον
ἦν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν ἀδελφήν, πρὸς ὃν αὐτῷ
τοσαῦτα θεῶν ὁμογνίων ὑπῆρχε δίκαια, κτεῖναι
παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐχθίστοις· ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφῆκε μόγις
ἑπτὰ μηνῶν ὅλων ἑλκύσας τῇδε κἀκεῖσε καὶ
ποιησάμενος ἔμφρουρον, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις 273
ἐθελήσας με σωθῆναι τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν
τὸ τηνικαῦτά μοι παρέσχεν εὐμενῆ Εὐσεβίαν,
οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τότε διέφυγον.
καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ' ὄναρ μοι φανεὶς ἀδελφὸς
ἐπεπράχει· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνῆν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ
ἐφοίτων οὐδὲ ἐβάδιζον παρ' αὐτόν, ὀλιγάκις δὲ
ἔγραφον καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων. ὡς οὖν ἀποφυγὼν B
ἐκεῖθεν ἄσμενος ἐπορευόμην ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς
ἑστίαν· πατρῷον γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχέ μοι οὐδὲ
ἐκεκτήμην ἐκ τοσούτων, ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν πατέρα
κεκτῆσθαι τὸν ἐμόν, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην βῶλον, οὐκ ἀν-
δράποδον, οὐκ οἰκίαν· ὁ γάρ τοι καλὸς Κωνστάν-
τιος ἐκληρονόμησεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν
ἅπασαν, ἐμοί τε, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲ γρὺ μετέδωκεν
αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τώμῷ τῶν πατρῴων
ἔδωκεν ὀλίγα, πάντων αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενος τῶν
μητρῴων.

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔπραξε πρός με πρὶν ὀνόματος C
μὲν μεταδοῦναί μοι τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, ἔργῳ δὲ
εἰς πικροτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐμβαλεῖν δου-
λείαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλεῖστα γοῦν ὅμως

the Caesar, his sister's husband, the father of his niece, the man whose own sister he had himself married in earlier days,[1] and to whom he owed so many obligations connected with the gods of the family. As for me he reluctantly let me go, after dragging me hither and thither for seven whole months and keeping me under guard; so that had not some one of the gods desired that I should escape, and made the beautiful and virtuous Eusebia kindly disposed to me, I could not then have escaped from his hands myself. And yet I call the gods to witness that my brother had pursued his course of action without my having a sight of him even in a dream. For I was not with him, nor did I visit him or travel to his neighbourhood; and I used to write to him very seldom and on unimportant matters. Thinking therefore that I had escaped from that place, I set out for the house that had been my mother's. For of my father's estate nothing belonged to me, and I had acquired out of the great wealth that had naturally belonged to my father not the smallest clod of earth, not a slave, not a house. For the admirable Constantius had inherited in my place the whole of my father's property, and to me, as I was saying, he granted not the least trifle of it; moreover, though he gave my brother a few things that had been his father's, he robbed him of the whole of his mother's estate.

Now his whole behaviour to me before he granted me that august title[2]—though in fact what he did was to impose on me the most galling and irksome slavery—you have heard, if not every detail, still the

[1] The sister of Gallus was the first wife of Constantius.
[2] The title of Caesar.

ἀκηκόατε[1] πορευομένου δὴ[2] λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν,
ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόγις ἀποσωζομένου, συκοφάντης
τις ἀνεφάνη περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον, ὃς τοῖς ἐκεῖ πράγ-
ματα ἔρραψεν ὡς νεώτερα διανοουμένοις· ἴστε D
δήπουθεν ἀκοῇ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν Μαρῖνον·
οὔκουν ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ ὁ Φῆλιξ ἔλαθεν οὐδὲ ὅσα
ἐπράχθη περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦτο
αὐτῷ κατεμηνύθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ Δυνάμιος ἐξαί-
φνης, ἄλλος συκοφάντης, ἐκ Κελτῶν ἤγγειλεν
ὅσον οὔπω τὸν Σιλουανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀνα-
φανεῖσθαι, δείσας παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐτίκα
ἐπ' ἐμὲ πέμπει, καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κελεύ-
σας ὑποχωρῆσαι πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκάλει παρ' ἑαυτόν, 274
οὔπω πρότερον τεθεαμένος πλὴν ἅπαξ μὲν ἐν
Καππαδοκίᾳ, ἅπαξ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀγωνισαμένης
Εὐσεβίας, ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυ-
τοῦ θαρρήσαιμι. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλιν
ἓξ ᾤκησα μηνῶν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετό με
θεάσεσθαι πάλιν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς ἀνδρό-
γυνος, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακοιμιστής, ἔλαθέ μου
καὶ ἄκων εὐεργέτης γενόμενος· οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν
ἐντυχεῖν με πολλάκις αὐτῷ, τυχὸν μὲν οὐδὲ B
ἐθέλοντι, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἦν·
ᾤκνει γὰρ ὡς ἂν μή τινος συνηθείας ἐγγενομένης
ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπειτα ἀγαπηθείην καὶ πιστὸς
ἀναφανεὶς ἐπιτραπείην τι.

Παραγενόμενον δή με τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος αὐτίκα διὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν

[1] ἀκηκόατε Cobet, ἠκούσατε Hertlein, MSS.
[2] δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

greater part. As I was saying, I was on my way to my home and was barely getting away safely, beyond my hopes, when a certain sycophant [1] turned up near Sirmium [2] and fabricated the rumour against certain persons there that they were planning a revolt. You certainly know by hearsay Africanus [3] and Marinus: nor can you fail to have heard of Felix and what was the fate of those men. And when Constantius was informed of the matter, and Dynamius another sycophant suddenly reported from Gaul that Silvanus [4] was on the point of declaring himself his open enemy, in the utmost alarm and terror he forthwith sent to me, and first he bade me retire for a short time to Greece, then summoned me from there to the court [5] again. He had never seen me before except once in Cappadocia and once in Italy, —an interview which Eusebia had secured by her exertions so that I might feel confidence about my personal safety. And yet I lived for six months in the same city [6] as he did, and he had promised that he would see me again. But that execrable eunuch,[7] his trusty chamberlain, unconsciously and involuntarily proved himself my benefactor. For he did not allow me to meet the Emperor often, nor perhaps did the latter desire it; still the eunuch was the chief reason. For what he dreaded was that if we had any intercourse with one another I might be taken into favour, and when my loyalty became evident I might be given some place of trust.

Now from the first moment of my arrival from Greece, Eusebia of blessed memory kept showing me

[1] Gaudentius. [2] A town in Illyricum.
[3] For the account of this alleged conspiracy cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 3. [4] Cf. *Oration* 1. 48 C; 2. 98 C, D.
[5] At Milan. [6] Milan. [7] Eusebius.

εὐνούχων ἡ μακαρῖτις Εὐσεβία καὶ λίαν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο. μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος τούτου· καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὰ περὶ Σιλουανὸν ἐπέπρακτο· C
λοιπὸν εἴσοδός τε εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν δίδοται, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἡ Θετταλικὴ περιβάλλεται πειθανάγκη. ἀρνουμένου γάρ μου τὴν συνουσίαν στερεῶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, οἱ μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν κουρείῳ συνελθόντες ἀποκείρουσι τὸν πώγωνα, χλανίδα δὲ ἀμφιεννύουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν, ὡς τότε ὑπελάμβανον, πάνυ γελοῖον στρατιώτην· οὐδὲν γάρ μοι D
τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τῶν καθαρμάτων ἥρμοζεν· ἐβάδιζον δὲ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι περιβλέπων καὶ σοβῶν[1] ἀλλ' εἰς γῆν βλέπων, ὥσπερ εἰθίσμην ὑπὸ τοῦ θρέψαντός με παιδαγωγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς παρέσχον γέλωτα, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ὑποψίαν, εἶτα ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ τοσοῦτος φθόνος.

Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα χρὴ μὴ παραλείπειν ἐκεῖνα, πῶς ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα, πῶς ἐδεχόμην[2] ὁμωρόφιος[3] ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι, οὓς ἠπιστάμην παντὶ μέν μου λυμηναμένους τῷ γένει, ὑπώπτευον δὲ οὐκ εἰς 275
μακρὰν ἐπιβουλεύσοντας καὶ ἐμοί. πηγὰς μὲν οὖν ὁπόσας ἀφῆκα δακρύων καὶ θρήνους οἵους, ἀνατείνων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν τὰς χεῖρας, ὅτε ἐκαλούμην, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἱκετεύων σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδόναι, πολλοὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἑορακότες εἰσί μοι μάρτυρες, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι καὶ θάνατον ἠτησάμην παρ' αὐτῆς Ἀθήνησι πρὸ τῆς τότε B

[1] περιβλέπων . . . σοβῶν Hertlein suggests, περιβλέποντες . . . σοβοῦντες MSS.
[2] ἐδεχόμην Naber, δὲ εἱλόμην Hertlein, MSS.
[3] ὁμωρόφιος Cobet, ὁμορόφιος Hertlein, MSS.

the utmost kindness through the eunuchs of her household. And a little later when the Emperor returned—for the affair of Silvanus had been concluded—at last I was given access to the court, and, in the words of the proverb, Thessalian persuasion [1] was applied to me. For when I firmly declined all intercourse with the palace, some of them, as though they had come together in a barber's shop, cut off my beard and dressed me in a military cloak and transformed me into a highly ridiculous soldier, as they thought at the time. For none of the decorations of those villains suited me. And I walked not like them, staring about me and strutting along, but gazing on the ground as I had been trained to do by the preceptor [2] who brought me up. At the time, then, I inspired their ridicule, but a little later their suspicion, and then their jealousy was inflamed to the utmost.

But this I must not omit to tell here, how I submitted and how I consented to dwell under the same roof with those whom I knew to have ruined my whole family, and who, I suspected, would before long plot against myself also. But what floods of tears I shed and what laments I uttered when I was summoned, stretching out my hands to your Acropolis and imploring Athene to save her suppliant and not to abandon me, many of you who were eyewitnesses can attest, and the goddess herself, above all others, is my witness that I even begged for death at her hands there in Athens rather than

[1] Cf. *Oration* 1. 32 A. The origin of the proverb is obscure; cf. Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 9. 13. [2] Mardonius.

ὁδοῦ. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐ προύδωκεν ἡ θεὸς τὸν ἱκέτην οὐδὲ ἐξέδωκεν, ἔργοις ἔδείξεν·[1] ἡγήσατο γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ μοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς φύλακας, ἐξ Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἀγγέλους λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον. ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Μεδιόλανον ᾠκουν ἔν τινι προαστείῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἔπεμπεν Εὐσεβία πολλάκις πρός με φιλοφρονουμένη καὶ γράφειν κελεύουσα καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἂν δέωμαι. γράψας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολήν, C μᾶλλον δὲ ἱκετηρίαν ὅρκους ἔχουσαν τοιούτους· Οὕτω παισὶ χρήσαιο κληρονόμοις· οὕτω τὰ καὶ τὰ θεός σοι δοίη, πέμπε με οἴκαδε τὴν ταχίστην, ἐκεῖνο ὑπειδόμην ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναῖκα γράμματα εἰσπέμπειν. ἱκέτευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νύκτωρ δηλῶσαί μοι, εἰ χρὴ πέμπειν παρὰ τὴν βασιλίδα τὸ γραμματεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐπηπείλησαν, εἰ πέμψαιμι, θάνατον αἴσχιστον. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα γράφω, D καλῶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέσχον εἰσπέμψαι. ἐξ ἐκείνης δέ μοι τῆς νυκτὸς λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθεν, οὗ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἴσως ἄξιον ἀκοῦσαι. Νῦν, ἔφην, ἐγὼ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀντιτάττεσθαι διανοοῦμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι κρεῖττον νενόμικα τῶν πάντα εἰδότων. καίτοι φρόνησις ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀφορῶσα μόνον ἀγαπητῶς ἂν τύχοι καὶ μόγις τοῦ 276 πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναμαρτήτου. διόπερ οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τριακοστὸν[2] ἔτος βουλεύεται οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνα-

[1] ἔδειξεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπέδειξεν MSS.
[2] τριακοστὸν Hertlein suggests, τριακοσιοστὸν MSS.

my journey to the Emperor. That the goddess accordingly did not betray her suppliant or abandon him she proved by the event. For everywhere she was my guide, and on all sides she set a watch near me, bringing guardian angels from Helios and Selene.

What happened was somewhat as follows. When I came to Milan I resided in one of the suburbs. Thither Eusebia sent me on several occasions messages of good-will, and urged me to write to her without hesitation about anything that I desired. Accordingly I wrote her a letter, or rather a petition containing vows like these: "May you have children to succeed you; may God grant you this and that, if only you send me home as quickly as possible!" But I suspected that it was not safe to send to the palace letters addressed to the Emperor's wife. Therefore I besought the gods to inform me at night whether I ought to send the letter to the Empress. And they warned me that if I sent it I should meet the most ignominious death. I call all the gods to witness that what I write here is true. For this reason, therefore, I forbore to send the letter. But from that night there kept occurring to me an argument which it is perhaps worth your while also to hear. "Now," I said to myself, "I am planning to oppose the gods, and I have imagined that I can devise wiser schemes for myself than those who know all things. And yet human wisdom, which looks only to the present moment, may be thankful if, with all its efforts, it succeed in avoiding mistakes even for a short space. That is why no man takes thought for things that are to happen thirty years hence, or for things that are already past, for the one

τον· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ὧν ἀρχαί τινές εἰσιν ἤδη καὶ σπέρματα. φρόνησις δὲ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μήκιστον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶν βλέπουσα μηνύει τε ὀρθῶς καὶ πράττει τὸ λῷον· αἴτιοι γάρ εἰσιν αὐτοὶ καθάπερ τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων. οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ B τῶν παρόντων ἐπίστασθαι. τέως μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει μοι κατὰ τοῦτο συνετωτέρα τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἡ δευτέρα γνώμη. σκοπῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον εὐθέως ἔφην· Εἶτα σὺ μὲν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἴ τι τῶν σῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροίη σε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρήσεως ἢ καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοι καλούμενον, κἂν ἵππος τύχῃ κἂν C πρόβατον κἂν βοίδιον, ἄνθρωπος δὲ εἶναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀγελαίων οὐδὲ τῶν συρφετωδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ μετρίων ἀποστερεῖς σεαυτοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ἐφ' ὅ, τι ἂν ἐθέλωσι χρήσασθαί σοι; ὅρα μὴ πρὸς τῷ λίαν ἀφρόνως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλιγώρως πράττῃς. ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία ποῦ καὶ τίς; γελοῖον. ἕτοιμος γοῦν εἶ καὶ θωπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαι δέει τοῦ θανάτου, ἐξὸν ἅπαντα καταβαλεῖν καὶ τοῖς D θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πράττειν ὡς βούλονται, διελόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ᾐξίου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοὶ πράττειν ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχηται, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ποιεῖσθαι, κεκτῆσθαι δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἁρπάζειν, τὰ

is superfluous, the other impossible, but only for what lies near at hand and has already some beginnings and germs. But the wisdom of the gods sees very far, or rather, sees the whole, and therefore it directs aright and brings to pass what is best. For they are the causes of all that now is, and so likewise of all that is to be. Wherefore it is reasonable that they should have knowledge about the present." So far, then, it seemed to me that on this reasoning my second determination was wiser than my first. And viewing the matter in the light of justice, I immediately reflected: "Would you not be provoked if one of your own beasts were to deprive you of its services,[1] or were even to run away when you called it, a horse, or sheep, or calf, as the case might be? And will you, who pretended to be a man, and not even a man of the common herd or from the dregs of the people, but one belonging to the superior and reasonable class, deprive the gods of your service, and not trust yourself to them to dispose of you as they please? Beware lest you not only fall into great folly, but also neglect your proper duties towards the gods. Where is your courage, and of what sort is it? A sorry thing it seems. At any rate, you are ready to cringe and flatter from fear of death, and yet it is in your power to lay all that aside and leave it to the gods to work their will, dividing with them the care of yourself, as Socrates, for instance, chose to do: and you might, while doing such things as best you can, commit the whole to their charge; seek to possess nothing, seize nothing, but accept simply what is vouchsafed

[1] An echo of Plato, *Phaedo* 62 C; cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 297 A.

διδόμενα δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀφελῶς[1] δέχεσθαι. ταύτην ἐγὼ νομίσας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρέ- 277
πουσαν ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ γνώμην, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐσήμαινε ταύτῃ· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιβουλὰς εὐλα-
βούμενον τὰς μελλούσας εἰς αἰσχρὸν καὶ προὔπτον ἐμβαλεῖν ἑαυτὸν κίνδυνον δεινῶς ἐφαίνετό μοι θορυβῶδες· εἶξαι καὶ ὑπήκουσα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομά μοι ταχέως καὶ τὸ χλανίδιον περιεβλήθη τοῦ καίσαρος· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δουλεία καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρεμά-
μενον δέος Ἡράκλεις ὅσον καὶ οἷον· κλεῖθρα B
θυρῶν, θυρωροί, τῶν οἰκετῶν αἱ χεῖρες ἐρευνώ-
μεναι, μή τίς μοι παρὰ τῶν φίλων γραμματίδιον κομίζῃ, θεραπεία ξένη· μόλις ἠδυνήθην οἰκέτας ἐμαυτοῦ τέτταρας, παιδάρια μὲν δύο κομιδῇ μικρά, δύο δὲ μείζονας, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἰκειότερόν με θεραπεύσοντας εἰσαγαγεῖν, ὧν εἷς μοι μόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς συνειδὼς καὶ ὡς ἐνεδέχετο λάθρᾳ συμπράττων· ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ τῶν βιβλίων μου C
τὴν φυλακήν, ὢν μόνος τῶν ἐμοὶ πολλῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φίλων πιστῶν, εἷς ἰατρός, ὃς καί, ὅτι φίλος ὢν ἐλελήθει, συναπεδήμησεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐδεδίειν ἐγὼ ταῦτα καὶ ψοφοδεῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτά, ὥστε καὶ βουλομένους εἰσιέναι τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ μάλ' ἄκων ἐκώλυον, ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμῶν, ὀκνῶν δὲ ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἐμαυτῷ γενέ-
σθαι συμφορῶν αἴτιος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔξωθέν D
ἐστι, τάδε δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι.

[1] ἀφελῶς Cobet, ἀσφαλῶς Hertlein, MSS.

to you by them." And this course I thought was not only safe but becoming to a reasonable man, since the response of the gods had suggested it. For to rush headlong into unseemly and foreseen danger while trying to avoid future plots seemed to me a topsy-turvy procedure. Accordingly I consented to yield. And immediately I was invested with the title and robe of Caesar.[1] The slavery that ensued and the fear for my very life that hung over me every day, Heracles, how great it was, and how terrible! My doors locked, warders to guard them, the hands of my servants searched lest one of them should convey to me the most trifling letter from my friends, strange servants to wait on me! Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for my personal service, two of them mere boys and two older men, of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, as far as he was able, secretly joined me in their worship. I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician[2] who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend. And this state of things caused me such alarm and I was so apprehensive about it, that though many of my friends really wished to visit me, I very reluctantly refused them admittance; for though I was most anxious to see them, I shrank from bringing disaster upon them and myself at the same time. But this is somewhat foreign to my narrative. The following relates to the actual course of events.

[1] Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 8.
[2] Oreibasius; cf. *Letter* 17.

Τριακοσίους ἑξήκοντά μοι δοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἔστειλε, μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκεῖσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε στρατηγοῖς ὑπακούοντα.[1] ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνετέταλτο διαρρήδην οὐ τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ νεώτερόν τι πράξαιμι. τούτων δὲ ὃν ἔφην τρόπον γενομένων, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἐπιτρέπει μοι βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ 278
στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιοίσοντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τοῦτο εἴρητο καὶ ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι τοῖς Γάλλοις οὐ βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἰκόνα κομιοῦντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δέ, ὡς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρώτου στρατηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πραχθέντος σπουδαίου, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸν B
ἔσχατον κατέστην κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ ἀθροίζειν ἐξῆν μοι στρατόπεδον· ἕτερος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτου κύριος· αὐτός τε ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἀποκεκλεισμένος, εἶτα παρὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων αἰτηθεὶς ἐπικουρίαν, ὧν εἶχον τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκείνοις δούς, αὐτὸς[2] ἀπελείφθην μόνος. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη τότε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχων ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενόμενος αὐτῷ παρῃρέθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιτήδειος δόξας, ἔγωγε C
ἐνομίσθην ἥκιστα σπουδαῖος καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγός, ἅτε πρᾷον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ μέτριον. οὐ

[1] ὑπακούοντα Hertlein suggests, ὑπακούσοντα MSS.
[2] αὐτὸς MSS., Cobet, [αὐτὸς] Hertlein.

Constantius gave me three hundred and sixty soldiers, and in the middle of the winter [1] despatched me into Gaul, which was then in a state of great disorder; and I was sent not as commander of the garrisons there but rather as a subordinate of the generals there stationed. For letters had been sent them and express orders given that they were to watch me as vigilantly as they did the enemy, for fear I should attempt to cause a revolt. And when all this had happened in the manner I have described, about the summer solstice he allowed me to join the army and to carry about with me his dress and image. And indeed he had both said and written that he was not giving the Gauls a king but one who should convey to them his image.

Now when, as you have heard, the first campaign was ended that year and great advantage gained, I returned to winter quarters,[2] and there I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I was not even allowed to assemble the troops; this power was entrusted to another, while I was quartered apart with only a few soldiers, and then, since the neighbouring towns begged for my assistance, I assigned to them the greater part of the force that I had, and so I myself was left isolated. This then was the condition of affairs at that time. And when the commander-in-chief[3] of the forces fell under the suspicions of Constantius and was deprived by him of his command and superseded, I in my turn was thought to be by no means capable or talented as a general, merely because I had shown myself mild and moderate. For I thought I ought not

[1] 355 A.D. [2] At Vienne. [3] Marcellus.

γὰρ ᾤμην δεῖν ζυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μή πού τι τῶν λίαν ἐπικινδύνων ἑώρων ἢ δέον γενέσθαι παρορώμενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γιγνόμενον. ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὐ καθηκόντως μοί τινων χρησαμένων, ἐμαυτὸν ᾠήθην D χρῆναι τιμᾶν τῇ σιωπῇ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χλανίδα περιέφερον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα· τούτων γὰρ τὸ τηνικαῦτα διενοούμην ἀποφάνθαι κύριος.

Ἐξ ὧν ὁ Κωνστάντιος νομίσας ὀλίγον[1] μὲν ἐπιδώσειν, οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεταβολῆς ἥξειν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, δίδωσί μοι τῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἧρος ἀρχῇ. καὶ στρατεύω μὲν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, πολλῶν πάνυ Γερμανῶν περὶ τὰς πεπορθημένας ἐν Κελ- 279
τοῖς πόλεις ἀδεῶς κατοικούντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων πέντε που καὶ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστι, τείχη τὰ διηρπασμένα δίχα τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων φρουρίων. ἧς δ' ἐνέμοντο γῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ῥήνου πάσης οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὁπόσον ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενος ἄχρι τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ περιλαμβάνει· τριακόσια δὲ ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἠόνος τοῦ Ῥήνου στάδια οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκοῦντες ἔσχατοι, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἦν ἔτι τούτου πλάτος τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τῆς λεηλασίας, ἔνθα B
οὐδὲ νέμειν ἐξῆν τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ πόλεις τινὲς ἔρημοι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, αἷς οὔπω παρῴκουν οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐν τούτοις οὖσαν καταλαβὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέλαβον τὴν

[1] ὀλίγον Hertlein suggests, ὀλίγῳ MSS.

to fight against my yoke or interfere with the general in command except when in some very dangerous undertaking I saw either that something was being overlooked, or that something was being attempted that ought never to have been attempted at all. But after certain persons had treated me with disrespect on one or two occasions, I decided that for the future I ought to show my own self-respect by keeping silence, and henceforth I contented myself with parading the imperial robe and the image. For I thought that to these at any rate I had been given a right.

After that, Constantius, thinking that there would be some improvement, but not that so great a transformation would take place in the affairs of Gaul, handed over to me in the beginning of spring [1] the command of all the forces. And when the grain was ripe I took the field ; for a great number of Germans had settled themselves with inpunity near the towns they had sacked in Gaul. Now the number of the towns whose walls had been dismantled was about forty-five, without counting citadels and smaller forts. And the barbarians then controlled on our side of the Rhine the whole country that extends from its sources to the Ocean. Moreover those who were settled nearest to us were as much as three hundred stades from the banks of the Rhine, and a district three times as wide as that had been left a desert by their raids ; so that the Gauls could not even pasture their cattle there. Then too there were certain cities deserted by their inhabitants, near which the barbarians were not yet encamped. This then was the condition of Gaul when I took

[1] 357 A.D.

Ἀγριππίναν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ, πρὸ μηνῶν ἑαλωκυῖάν που δέκα, καὶ τεῖχος Ἀργέντορα πλησίον πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρείαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἐμαχεσάμην οὐκ ἀκλεῶς. ἴσως καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο ἡ C τοιαύτη μάχη. ἔνθα τῶν θεῶν δόντων μοι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμάλωτον, οὐκ ἐφθόνησα τοῦ κατορθώματος Κωνσταντίῳ. καίτοι εἰ μὴ θριαμβεύειν ἐξῆν, ἀποσφάττειν τὸν πολέμιον κύριος ἦν, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πάσης αὐτὸν ἄγων τῆς Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιδεικνύειν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐντρυφᾶν τοῦ Χνοδομαρίου ταῖς συμφοραῖς. τού- D των οὐδὲν ᾠήθην δεῖν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον αὐτὸν εὐθέως ἀπέπεμψα, τότε ἀπὸ τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπανιόντα. συνέβη τοίνυν, ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀγωνισαμένου, ἐκείνου δὲ ὁδεύσαντος μόνον καὶ φιλίως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὸν Ἴστρον ἔθνεσιν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον θριαμβεῦσαι.

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλαντο τῆς Γαλατίας οἱ βάρβαροι, πλεῖσται δὲ ἀνελήφθησαν τῶν πόλεων, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος ναῦς ἀνήχθησαν. ἑξακοσίων νηῶν ἀνήγαγον στόλον, ὧν 280 τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν Ῥῆνον, ἔργον οὐ μικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ παροικοῦντας πλησίον βαρβάρους. ὁ γοῦν Φλωρέντιος οὕτως ᾤετο τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, ὥστε ἀργύρου δισχιλίας

it over. I recovered the city of Agrippina [1] on the Rhine which had been taken about ten months earlier, and also the neighbouring fort of Argentoratum,[2] near the foot-hills of the Vosges mountains, and there I engaged the enemy not ingloriously. It may be that the fame of that battle has reached even your ears. There though the gods gave into my hands as prisoner of war the king [3] of the enemy, I did not begrudge Constantius the glory of that success. And yet though I was not allowed to triumph for it, I had it in my power to slay my enemy, and moreover I could have led him through the whole of Gaul and exhibited him to the cities, and thus have luxuriated as it were in the misfortunes of Chnodomar. I thought it my duty to do none of these things, but sent him at once to Constantius who was returning from the country of the Quadi and the Sarmatians. So it came about that, though I had done all the fighting and he had only travelled in those parts and held friendly intercourse with the tribes who dwell on the borders of the Danube, it was not I but he who triumphed.

Then followed the second and third years of that campaign, and by that time all the barbarians had been driven out of Gaul, most of the towns had been recovered, and a whole fleet of many ships had arrived from Britain. I had collected a fleet of six hundred ships, four hundred of which I had had built in less than ten months, and I brought them all into the Rhine, no slight achievement, on account of the neighbouring barbarians who kept attacking me. At least it seemed so impossible to Florentius that he had promised to pay the barbarians a fee of two

[1] Cologne. [2] Strasburg. [3] Chnodomar.

λίτρας ὑπέσχετο μισθὸν ἀποτίσειν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παρόδου, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος ὑπὲρ τούτου μαθών· ἐκοινώσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς δόσεως· ἐπέστειλε πρός με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν[1] B κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχρόν μοι φανείη. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν αἰσχρόν, ὅπου Κωνσταντίῳ τοιοῦτον ἐφάνη, λίαν εἰωθότι θεραπεύειν τοὺς βαρβάρους; ἐδόθη μὴν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσας, ἀμυνόντων μοι καὶ παρεστώτων τῶν θεῶν, ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοῖραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔθνους, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα, πολλὰς βοῦς καὶ γύναια μετὰ παιδαρίων συλλαβών. οὕτω δὲ πάντας ἐφόβησα καὶ παρεσκεύασα καταπτῆξαι τὴν ἐμὴν ἔφοδον, ὥστε παραχρῆμα λαβεῖν ὁμήρους καὶ τῇ C σιτοπομπίᾳ παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλῆ κομιδήν.

Μακρόν ἐστι πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον γράφειν, ὅσα ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔπραξα τέτταρσι· τὰ κεφάλαια δέ· τρίτον ἐπεραιώθην καῖσαρ ἔτι τὸν Ῥῆνον· δισμυρίους ἀπῄτησα παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον ὄντας αἰχμαλώτους· ἐκ δυοῖν ἀγώνοιν καὶ μιᾶς πολιορκίας χιλίους ἐξελὼν ἐζώγρησα, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἡλικίαν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἡβῶντας· ἔπεμψα τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς D τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλαττόνων, ἱππέων τάγματα δύο τὰ ἐντιμότατα· πόλεις ἀνέλαβον νῦν μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐθελόντων πάσας, τότε δὲ ἀνειλήφειν ἐλάττους ὀλίγῳ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα. μάρτυρας καλῶ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς πολιούχους τε καὶ ὁμογνίους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πίστεως, ὅτι τοιοῦτος

[1] ἐπέστειλε πρός με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν Horkel, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸ πρός με, πράττειν Hertlein, MSS.

thousand pounds weight of silver in return for a passage. Constantius when he learned this—for Florentius had informed him about the proposed payment—wrote to me to carry out the agreement, unless I thought it absolutely disgraceful. But how could it fail to be disgraceful when it seemed so even to Constantius, who was only too much in the habit of trying to conciliate the barbarians? However, no payment was made to them. Instead I marched against them, and since the gods protected me and were present to aid, I received the submission of part of the Salian tribe, and drove out the Chamavi and took many cattle and women and children. And I so terrified them all, and made them tremble at my approach that I immediately received hostages from them and secured a safe passage for my food supplies.

It would take too long to enumerate everything and to write down every detail of the task that I accomplished within four years. But to sum it all up: Three times, while I was still Caesar, I crossed the Rhine; twenty thousand persons who were held as captives on the further side of the Rhine I demanded and received back; in two battles and one siege I took captive ten thousand prisoners, and those not of unserviceable age but men in the prime of life; I sent to Constantius four levies of excellent infantry, three more of infantry not so good, and two very distinguished squadrons of cavalry. I have now with the help of the gods recovered all the towns, and by that time I had already recovered almost forty. I call Zeus and all the gods who protect cities and our race to bear witness as to my behaviour towards

γέγονα περὶ αὐτόν, οἷον ἂν εἰλόμην ἐγὼ υἱὸν περὶ
ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετίμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδεὶς 281
καισάρων οὐδένα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων.
οὐδὲν γοῦν εἰς τὴν τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐγκαλεῖ
μοι, καὶ ταῦτα παρρησιασαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
γελοίους αἰτίας ὀργῆς ἀναπλάττει. Λουππικῖνον,
φησί, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κατέσχες· οὓς
εἰ καὶ κτείνας ἤμην ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἔμοιγε
φανερῶς, ἐχρῆν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὀργὴν
ἀφεῖναι τῆς ὁμονοίας ἕνεκα. τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν (
ἄχαρι διαθεὶς ὡς ταραχώδεις φύσει καὶ πολεμο- B
ποιοὺς κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνυ δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς
ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενος δ' [1] οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων ἐκείνοις. ὁρᾶτε, πῶς ἐπεξιέναι τούτοις ὁ
Κωνστάντιος νομοθετεῖ. ὁ γὰρ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ
τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἆρ' οὐκ ὀνειδίζει μοι καὶ
κατεγελᾷ τῆς μωρίας, ὅτι τὸν φονέα πατρός,
ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεψιῶν, ἁπάσης ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῆς
κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἑστίας καὶ συγγενείας τὸν δήμιον εἰς
τοῦτο ἐθεράπευσα; σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὅπως καὶ γενό- C
μενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἔτι θεραπευτικῶς αὐτῷ προση-
νέχθην ἐξ ὧν ἐπέστειλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ὁποῖός τις γέγονα περὶ
αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν εἴσεσθε. αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι τῶν
ἁμαρτανομένων κληρονομήσω μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν
ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξεργασθήσεται δὲ
ἑτέροις τὰ πλεῖστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἱκέτευον, εἰ ταῦτα D

[1] δ' after ἀφελόμενος Hertlein suggests.

Constantius and my loyalty to him, and that I behaved to him as I would have chosen that my own son should behave to me.[1] I have paid him more honour than any Caesar has paid to any Emperor in the past. Indeed, to this very day he has no accusation to bring against me on that score, though I have been entirely frank in my dealings with him, but he invents absurd pretexts for his resentment. He says, "You have detained Lupicinus and three other men." And supposing I had even put them to death after they had openly plotted against me, he ought for the sake of keeping peace to have renounced his resentment at their fate. But I did those men not the least injury, and I detained them because they are by nature quarrelsome and mischief-makers. And though I am spending large sums of the public money on them, I have robbed them of none of their property. Observe how Constantius really lays down the law that I ought to proceed to extremities with such men! For by his anger on behalf of men who are not related to him at all, does he not rebuke and ridicule me for my folly in having served so faithfully the murderer of my father, my brothers, my cousins; the executioner as it were of his and my whole family and kindred? Consider too with what deference I have continued to treat him even since I became Emperor, as is shown in my letters.

And how I behaved to him before that you shall now learn. Since I was well aware that whenever mistakes were made I alone should incur the disgrace and danger, though most of the work was carried on by others, I first of all implored him, if

[1] Cf. Isocrates, *To Demonicus* 14

πράττειν αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο καὶ πάντως ἐμὲ προσαγορεύειν καίσαρα δεδογμένον εἴη, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους δοῦναί μοι τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας· ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἔδωκε τοὺς μοχθηροτάτους. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν εἷς ὁ πονηρότατος καὶ μάλα ἄσμενος[1] ὑπήκουσεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἠξίου τῶν ἄλλων, ἄνδρα δίδωσιν ἄκων ἐμοὶ καὶ μάλα ἀγαθὸν Σαλούστιον, ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὕποπτος. οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς ἐγὼ τῷ τοιούτῳ, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ κατανόησας[2] τῷ μὲν ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδ' ὅλως προσέχοντα, 282
τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἁψάμενος· Τούτων, ἔφην, οὐδείς ἐστί μοι συνήθης οὐδὲ γέγονεν ἔμπροσθεν· ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ φήμης, σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἑταίρους ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φίλους νομίζω, τοῖς πάλαι γνωρίμοις ἐπ' ἴσης τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἦ τούτοις ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἢ τὰ τούτων ἡμῖν συγκινδυνεῦσαι. τί οὖν ἱκετεύω; γραπτοὺς ἡμῖν δὸς ὥσπερ νόμους, τίνων B
ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ ὅσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπεις. δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ ὅ, τι μάλιστα νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Πεντάδιος αὐτίκα καινοτομεῖν, οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν· ἀντέπραττον δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γίνεταί μοι δυσμενὴς ἐκεῖθεν. εἶτ' ἄλλον λαβὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, Παῦλον, Γαυδέντιον, τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ' C

[1] ἄσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμένως MSS.
[2] βλέπων . . . κατανόησας Horkel, κατανόησας . . . βλέπων Hertlein, MSS.

he had made up his mind to that course and was altogether determined to proclaim me Caesar, to give me good and able men to assist me He however at first gave me the vilest wretches. And when one, the most worthless of them, had very gladly accepted and no one of the others consented, he gave me with a bad grace an officer who was indeed excellent, Sallust, who on account of his virtue has at once fallen under his suspicion. And since I was not satisfied with such an arrangement and saw how his manner to them varied, for I observed that he trusted one of them too much and paid no attention at all to the other, I clasped his right hand and his knees and said: "I have no acquaintance with any of these men nor have had in the past. But I know them by report, and since you bid me I regard them as my comrades and friends and pay them as much respect as I would to old acquaintances. Nevertheless it is not just that my affairs should be entrusted to them or that their fortunes should be hazarded with mine. What then is my petition? Give me some sort of written rules as to what I must avoid and what you entrust to me to perform. For it is clear that you will approve of him who obeys you and punish him who is disobedient, though indeed I am very sure that no one will disobey you."

Now I need not mention the innovations that Pentadius at once tried to introduce. But I kept opposing him in everything and for that reason he became my enemy. Then Constantius chose another and a second and a third and fashioned them for his purpose, I mean Paul and Gaudentius, those notorious sycophants; he hired them to attack me and

ἐμὲ μισθωσάμενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον μὲν ὡς ἐμοὶ φίλον ἀποστῆναι παρασκευάζει, Λουκιλιανὸν δὲ δοθῆναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἦν ἐχθρὸς ἐμοὶ διὰ τὰς πλεονεξίας, αἷς ἠναντιούμην. πείθουσιν οὗτοι τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἀφελέσθαι με τῶν στρατοπέδων ἁπάντων, ἴσως τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων κνιζόμενον, καὶ γράφει γράμματα πολλῆς μὲν ἀτιμίας εἰς ἐμὲ πλήρη, Κελτοῖς δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα· μικροῦ γὰρ δέω φάναι τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἅπαν ἀδιακρίτως τὸ μαχιμώτατον ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπιτάξας τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Λουππικίνῳ τε καὶ Γιντωνίῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς ἂν πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείην αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν. D

Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴποιμ' ἂν ἔργα πρὸς ὑμᾶς; διενοούμην· μάρτυρες δὲ αὐτοί· πᾶσαν ἀπορρίψας τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἡσυχάζειν, πράττειν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως. ἀνέμενον δὲ Φλωρέντιον παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λουππικῖνον· ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βίενναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρεττανίαις. ἐν τούτῳ θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνώνυμον γραμματεῖον[1] εἰς τὴν ἀστυγείτονά μοι πόλιν πρὸς τοὺς Πετουλάντας τουτουσὶ καὶ Κελτούς· ὀνομάζεται δὲ οὕτω τὰ τάγματα· ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγέγραπτο κατ' ἐκείνου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαλλιῶν προδοσίας ὀδυρμοί· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀτιμίαν ὁ τὸ γραμματεῖον συγγράψας ἀπωδύρετο. τοῦτο κομισθὲν ἐκίνησε πάντας, οἳ τὰ Κωνσταντίου μάλιστα ἐφρόνουν, ἐπιθέσθαι μοι κατὰ τὸ καρ- 283 B C

[1] γραμματεῖον Horkel adds, δέλτον Naber.

then took measures to remove Sallust, because he was my friend, and to appoint Lucilianus immediately, as his successor. And a little later Florentius also became my enemy on account of his avarice which I used to oppose. These men persuaded Constantius, who was perhaps already somewhat irritated by jealousy of my successes, to remove me altogether from command of the troops. And he wrote letters full of insults directed against me and threatening ruin to the Gauls. For he gave orders for the withdrawal from Gaul of, I might almost say, the whole of the most efficient troops without exception, and assigned this commission to Lupicinus and Gintonius, while to me he wrote that I must oppose them in nothing.

And now in what terms shall I describe to you the work of the gods? It was my intention, as they will bear me witness, to divest myself of all imperial splendour and state and remain in peace, taking no part whatever in affairs. But I waited for Florentius and Lupicinus to arrive; for the former was at Vienne, the latter in Britain. Meanwhile there was great excitement among the civilians and the troops, and someone wrote an anonymous letter to the town near where I was,[1] addressed to the Petulantes and the Celts—those were the names of the legions—full of invectives against Constantius and of lamentations about his betrayal of the Gauls. Moreover the author of the letter lamented bitterly the disgrace inflicted on myself. This letter when it arrived provoked all those who were most definitely on the side of Constantius to urge me in the strongest terms to send away the troops at once, before similar letters

[1] Julian was at Paris.

τερώτατον, ὅπως ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαιμι, πρὶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς ὅμοια ῥιφῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις παρῆν τῶν δοκούντων εὔνως ἔχειν ἐμοί, Νεβρίδιος δέ, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνσταντίου. λέγοντος δέ μου χρῆναι περιμένειν ἔτι Λουππικῖνον καὶ Φλωρέντιον, οὐδεὶς ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πάντες τοὐναντίον ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ βούλομαι ταῖς προλαβούσαις ὑποψίαις ὥσπερ ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτο D προσθεῖναι. εἶτα προσέθεσαν ὡς Νῦν μὲν ἐκπεμφθέντων αὐτῶν σόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον, ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ σοὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις λογιεῖται Κωνστάντιος, σὺ δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενήσῃ. γράψαι δή[1] με ἔπεισαν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβιάσαντο· πείθεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ᾧπερ ἔξεστι καὶ μὴ πεισθῆναι, βιάζεσθαι δὲ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, τοῦ πείθειν οὐδὲν προσδέονται· οὔκουν οὐδὲ οἱ βιασθέντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκοποῦμεν ἐνταῦθα, ποίαν ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς χρὴ 284 βαδίζειν, διττῆς οὔσης. ἐγὼ μὲν ἠξίουν ἑτέραν τραπῆναι, οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐκείνην ἰέναι, μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ γενόμενον ὥσπερ ἀφορμήν τινα στάσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις παράσχῃ καὶ ταραχῆς τινος αἴτιον γένηται, εἶτα στασιάζειν ἅπαξ ἀρξάμενοι πάντα ἀθρόως ταράξωσιν. ἐδόκει τὸ δέος οὐ παντάπασιν ἄλογον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἦλθε τὰ τάγματα, ὑπήντησα κατὰ τὸ νενομισμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ προύτρεψα· μίαν B

[1] δή Hertlein would add.

could be scattered broadcast among the rest of the legions. And indeed there was no one there belonging to the party supposed to be friendly to me, but only Nebridius, Pentadius, and Decentius, the latter of whom had been despatched for this very purpose by Constantius. And when I replied that we ought to wait still longer for Lupicinus and Florentius, no one listened to me, but they all declared that we ought to do the very opposite, unless I wished to add this further proof and evidence for the suspicions that were already entertained about me. And they added this argument: "If you send away the troops now it will be regarded as your measure, but when the others come Constantius will give them not you the credit and you will be held to blame." And so they persuaded or rather compelled me to write to him. For he alone may be said to be persuaded who has the power to refuse, but those who can use force have no need to persuade as well; then again where force is used there is no persuasion, but a man is the victim of necessity. Thereupon we discussed by which road, since there were two, the troops had better march. I preferred that they should take one of these, but they immediately compelled them to take the other, for fear that the other route if chosen should give rise to mutiny among the troops and cause some disturbance, and that then, when they had once begun to mutiny, they might throw all into confusion. Indeed such apprehension on their part seemed not altogether without grounds.

The legions arrived, and I, as was customary, went to meet them and exhorted them to continue their march. For one day they halted, and till that time

ἡμέραν ἐπέμεινεν, ἄχρις ἧς οὐδὲν ἤδειν ἐγὼ τῶν βεβουλευμένων αὐτοῖς· ἴστω Ζεύς, Ἥλιος, Ἄρης, Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πάντες θεοί, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετό μού τις τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια ἄχρι δείλης αὐτῆς· ὀψίας δὲ ἤδη περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐμηνύθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ βασίλεια περιείληπτο, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες, ἔτι φροντίζοντός μου τί χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ οὔπω σφόδρα πιστεύοντος· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔτι τῆς γαμετῆς ζώσης C μοι ἀναπαυσόμενος ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὑπερῷον ἀνελθών. εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοῖχος· προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἔτι μείζονος τῆς βοῆς καὶ θορυβουμένων πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἠτέομεν τὸν θεὸν δοῦναι τέρας. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἡμῖν δεῖξε καὶ ἠνώγει πεισθῆναι καὶ μὴ προσεναντιοῦσθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθυμίᾳ. γενομένων ὅμως ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ D εἶξα ἑτοίμως, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχον εἰς ὅσον ἠδυνάμην, καὶ οὔτε τὴν πρόσρησιν οὔτε τὸν στέφανον προσιέμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε εἷς ὢν[1] πολλῶν ἠδυνάμην κρατεῖν οἵ τε τοῦτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοὶ τοὺς μὲν παρώξυνον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔθελγον τὴν γνώμην, ὥρᾳ που τρίτῃ σχεδὸν οὐκ οἶδα οὑτινός μοι στρατιώτου δόντος μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, ἔνδοθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ θεοί, στένων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρὴν δήπουθεν πι- 285
στεύοντα τῷ φήναντι θεῷ τὸ τέρας θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ'

[1] ὢν Cobet, τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

I knew nothing whatever of what they had determined; I call to witness Zeus, Helios, Ares, Athene, and all the other gods that no such suspicion even entered my mind until that very evening. It was already late, when about sunset the news was brought to me, and suddenly the palace was surrounded and they all began to shout aloud, while I was still considering what I ought to do and feeling by no means confident. My wife was still alive and it happened, that in order to rest alone, I had gone to the upper room near hers. Then from there through an opening in the wall I prayed to Zeus. And when the shouting grew still louder and all was in a tumult in the palace I entreated the god to give me a sign; and thereupon he showed me a sign [1] and bade me yield and not oppose myself to the will of the army. Nevertheless even after these tokens had been vouchsafed to me I did not yield without reluctance, but resisted as long as I could, and would not accept either the salutation [2] or the diadem. But since I could not singlehanded control so many, and moreover the gods, who willed that this should happen, spurred on the soldiers and gradually softened my resolution, somewhere about the third hour some soldier or other gave me the collar and I put it on my head and returned to the palace, as the gods know groaning in my heart. And yet surely it was my duty to feel confidence and to trust in the god after he had shown me the sign; but I was terribly ashamed and ready to

[1] *Odyssey* 3. 173

ἠτέομεν δὲ θεὸν φῆναι τέρας, αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἡμῖν
δεῖξε καὶ ἠνώγει.

[2] *i.e.* the title of Augustus.

ἠσχυνόμην δεινῶς καὶ κατεδυόμην, εἰ δόξαιμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακοῦσαι Κωνσταντίῳ.

Πολλῆς οὖν οὔσης περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατηφείας, τοῦτον εὐθὺς οἱ Κωνσταντίου φίλοι τὸν καιρὸν ἁρπάσαι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλήν μοι ῥάπτουσιν αὐτίκα καὶ διένειμαν τοῖς στρατιώταις χρήματα, δυοῖν θάτερον προσδοκῶντες, ἢ διαστήσειν ἀλλήλους ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι[1] μοι φανερῶς. B αἰσθόμενός τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ προόδῳ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς λάθρᾳ πραττόμενον αὐτὸ ἐμοὶ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμήνυσεν, ὡς δὲ ἑώρα με μηδὲν προσέχοντα, παραφρονήσας ὥσπερ οἱ θεόληπτοι δημοσίᾳ βοᾶν ἤρξατο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν· Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολῖται, μὴ προδῶτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἶτα ἐμπίπτει θυμὸς εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔθεον. καταλαβόντες δέ με ζῶντα καὶ C χαρέντες ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὀφθέντας φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιέβαλλον καὶ περιέπλεκον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔφερον, καὶ ἦν πως τὸ πρᾶγμα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσιασμῷ γὰρ ἐῴκει. ὡς δέ με ἀπανταχόθεν περιέσχον, ἐξῄτουν ἅπαντας τοὺς Κωνσταντίου φίλους ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ. πηλίκον ἠγωνισάμην ἀγῶνα σῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτούς, D ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

Ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο πῶς πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον διεπραξάμην; οὔπω καὶ τήμερον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολαῖς τῇ δοθείσῃ

[1] *ἐπιθήσεσθαι* Cobet, *ἐπιθέσθαι* Hertlein, MSS.

sink into the earth at the thought of not seeming to obey Constantius faithfully to the last.

Now since there was the greatest consternation in the palace, the friends of Constantius thought they would seize the occasion to contrive a plot against me without delay, and they distributed money to the soldiers, expecting one of two things, either that they would cause dissension between me and the troops, or no doubt that the latter would attack me openly. But when a certain officer belonging to those who commanded my wife's escort perceived that this was being secretly contrived, he first reported it to me and then, when he saw that I paid no attention to him, he became frantic, and like one possessed he began to cry aloud before the people in the market-place, "Fellow soldiers, strangers, and citizens, do not abandon the Emperor!" Then the soldiers were inspired by a frenzy of rage and they all rushed to the palace under arms. And when they found me alive, in their delight, like men who meet friends whom they had not hoped to see again, they pressed round me on this side and on that, and embraced me and carried me on their shoulders. And it was a sight worth seeing, for they were like men seized with a divine frenzy. Then after they had surrounded me on all sides they demanded that I give up to them for punishment the friends of Constantius. What fierce opposition I had to fight down in my desire to save those persons is known to all the gods.

But further, how did I behave to Constantius after this? Even to this day I have not yet used in my letters to him the title which was bestowed on me

μοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπωνυμίᾳ κεχρημαι, καίσαρα δὲ ἐμαυτὸν γέγραφα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀμόσαι μοι μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμήσειν, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἀδεῶς οἰκεῖν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις συναινέσας. ἅπαντα τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ 286
τάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἱκετεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν ὁμονοίας. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέβαλεν ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἀνηγόρευσέ με παρ' ἐκείνοις, καὶ μισθοὺς ἐτέλεσεν, ὅπως τὸ Γαλλιῶν ἔθνος πορθηθείη, γράφων τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλιῶν παρεκελεύετο, καὶ περὶ Β
τοὺς Γαλλικοὺς ὅρους ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεσιν εἰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας μεδίμνων πυροῦ κατειργασμένου ἐν τῇ Βριγαντίᾳ, τοσοῦτον ἕτερον περὶ τὰς Κοττίας Ἄλπεις ὡς ἐπ' ἐμὲ στρατεύσων ἐκέλευσε παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λόγοι, σαφῆ δὲ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἃς γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κομισθείσας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ τὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρεσκευασμένας κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ταύρου. πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι C
νῦν μοι ὡς καίσαρι[1] γράφει, καὶ οὐδὲ συνθήσεσθαι πώποτε πρός με ὑπέστη, ἀλλ' Ἐπίκτητόν τινα τῶν Γαλλιῶν[2] ἐπίσκοπον ἔπεμψεν ὡς πιστά μοι περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρέξοντα, καὶ τοῦτο θρυλεῖ δι' ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς οὐδὲν μνημονεύει. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὅρκους

[1] ὡς καίσαρι Hertlein suggests, καίσαρι MSS.

[2] Athanasius says that Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae; hence Petavius suggests Κεντουμκελλῶν for τῶν Γαλλιῶν.

by the gods, but I have always signed myself Caesar, and I have persuaded the soldiers to demand nothing more if only he would allow us to dwell peaceably in Gaul and would ratify what has been already done. All the legions with me sent letters to him praying that there might be harmony between us. But instead of this he let loose against us the barbarians, and among them proclaimed me his foe and paid them bribes so that the people of the Gauls might be laid waste ; moreover he wrote to the forces in Italy and bade them be on their guard against any who should come from Gaul ; and on the frontiers of Gaul in the cities near by he ordered to be got ready three million bushels of wheat which had been ground at Brigantia,[1] and the same amount near the Cottian Alps, with the intention of marching to oppose me. These are not mere words but deeds that speak plain. In fact the letters that he wrote I obtained from the barbarians who brought them to me ; and I seized the provisions that had been made ready, and the letters of Taurus. Besides, even now in his letters he addresses me as "Caesar" and declares that he will never make terms with me : but he sent one Epictetus, a bishop of Gaul,[2] to offer a guarantee for my personal safety ; and throughout his letters he keeps repeating that he will not take my life, but about my honour he says not a word. As for his oaths, for my part I think they should, as the proverb says, be written in ashes,[3] so little do they inspire belief. But my honour I will not give

[1] Bregentz, on Lake Constance.

[2] Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia) ; see critical note.

[3] cf. "Write in dust" or "write in water."

αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας οἶμαι δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὕτως εἰσὶ πιστοί· τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὐ τοῦ D
καλοῦ καὶ πρέποντος μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν
φίλων ἕνεκα σωτηρίας ἀντέχομαι· καὶ οὔπω
φημὶ τὴν πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζομένην πικρίαν.

Ταῦτα ἔπεισέ με, ταῦτα ἐφάνη μοι δίκαια.
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάντα ὁρῶσι καὶ
ἀκούουσιν ἀνεθέμην θεοῖς. εἶτα θυσάμενος περὶ
τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερῶν κατ'
αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς στρατιώταις
περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἔμελλον διαλέγεσθαι, 287
ὑπέρ τε τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολὺ πλέον
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κελτῶν
ἔθνους, ὃ δὶς ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξέδωκεν, οὐδὲ
τῶν προγονικῶν φεισάμενος τάφων, ὁ τοὺς ἀλλο-
τρίους πάνυ θεραπεύων, ᾠήθην δεῖν ἔθνη τε
προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατώτατα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους
δικαιοτάτων ἐξ ἀργυρείων καὶ χρυσείων, καὶ
εἰ μὲν ἀγαπήσειεν ἔτι νῦν γοῦν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
ὁμόνοιαν, εἴσω τῶν νῦν ἐχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ B
πολεμεῖν διανοοῖτο καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας
γνώμης χαλάσειεν, ὅ, τι ἂν ᾖ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον
πάσχειν ἢ πράττειν, ὡς αἴσχιον ἀνανδρίᾳ ψυχῆς
καὶ διανοίας ἀμαθίᾳ ἢ πλήθει δυνάμεως ἀσθενέ-
στερον αὐτοῦ φανῆναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλήθει
κρατήσειεν, οὐκ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς
πολυχειρίας ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις
περιμένοντά με καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀγαπῶντα καὶ
διακλίνοντα τὸν κίνδυνον ἁπανταχόθεν περικόψας C

up, partly out of regard for what is seemly and fitting, but also to secure the safety of my friends. And I have not yet described the cruelty that he is practising over the whole earth.

These then were the events that persuaded me; this was the conduct I thought just. And first I imparted it to the gods who see and hear all things. Then when I had offered sacrifices for my departure, the omens were favourable on that very day on which I was about to announce to the troops that they were to march to this place; and since it was not only on behalf of my own safety but far more for the sake of the general welfare and the freedom of all men and in particular of the people of Gaul,—for twice already he had betrayed them to the enemy and had not even spared the tombs of their ancestors, he who is so anxious to conciliate strangers!—then, I say, I thought that I ought to add to my forces certain very powerful tribes and to obtain supplies of money, which I had a perfect right to coin, both gold and silver. Moreover if even now he would welcome a reconciliation with me I would keep to what I at present possess; but if he should decide to go to war and will in no wise relent from his earlier purpose, then I ought to do and to suffer whatever is the will of the gods; seeing that it would be more disgraceful to show myself his inferior through failure of courage or lack of intelligence than in mere numbers. For if he now defeats me by force of numbers that will not be his doing, but will be due to the larger army that he has at his command. If on the other hand he had surprised me loitering in Gaul and clinging to bare life and, while I tried to avoid the danger, had attacked me on all sides, in

κατέλαβε, κύκλῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ στόμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων, τὸ παθεῖν τε οἶμαι τὰ ἔσχατα προσῆν καὶ ἔτι ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσι.

Ταῦτα διανοηθείς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς τε συστρατιώταις τοῖς ἐμοῖς διῆλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινοὺς τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολίτας γράφω. θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν τὴν D ἑαυτῶν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοῖεν καὶ παράσχοιεν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε εἰς ὅσον δύναμις εὖ παθεῖν καὶ τοιούτους σχεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἳ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτὰς αἰδέσονται[1] καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

[1] αἰδέσονται Cobet, εἴσονται Hertlein, MSS.

the rear and on the flanks by means of the barbarians, and in front by his own legions, I should I believe have had to face complete ruin, and moreover the disgrace of such conduct is greater than any punishment—at least in the sight of the wise.[1]

These then are the views, men of Athens, which I have communicated to my fellow soldiers and which I am now writing to the whole body of the citizens throughout all Greece. May the gods who decide all things vouchsafe me to the end the assistance which they have promised, and may they grant to Athens all possible favours at my hands! May she always have such Emperors as will honour her and love her above and beyond all other cities!

[1] Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 1. 27.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO A PRIEST

INTRODUCTION

JULIAN was Supreme Pontiff, and as such felt responsible for the teachings and conduct of the priesthood. He saw that in order to offset the influence of the Christian priests which he thought was partly due to their moral teaching, partly to their charity towards the poor, the pagans must follow their example. Hitherto the preaching of morals had been left to the philosophers. Julian's admonitions as to the treatment of the poor and of those in prison, and the rules that he lays down for the private life of a priest are evidently borrowed from the Christians.

This Fragment occurs in the *Vossianus* MS., inserted in the *Letter to Themistius*,[1] and was identified and published separately by Petavius. It was probably written when Julian was at Antioch on the way to Persia.

[1] p. 256 C, between τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον and καὶ πεποιήκασι.

FRAGMENTUM EPISTOLAE 288

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. . . . . πλὴν ἢν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπίδωσιν ἀτακτοῦντάς τινας, αὐτίκα μάλα κολάζουσιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐ προσιόντας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστι τὸ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τεταγμένον φῦλον, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ B πολλοὶ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἀθέων ἀναπείθονται θανατᾶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅταν ἀπορρήξωσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιαίως. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διώκουσιν, ὄντος τἀνθρώπου φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζῴου καὶ ἡμέρου, δαίμοσιν ἐκδεδομένοι πονηροῖς, ὑφ' ὧν εἰς ταύτην ἄγονται τὴν μισανθρωπίαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ κλοιοὺς ἐξηῦρον οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων· οὕτω παντα-χόθεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κακὸς συνελαύνει δαίμων, ᾧ δεδώκασιν ἑκόντες ἑαυτούς, ἀποστάντες τῶν ἀιδίων καὶ σωτήρων θεῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων C ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα εἰπεῖν· ὅθεν δ' ἐξέβην εἰς τοῦτο ἐπανήξω.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO A PRIEST

* * * * * * *

. . . . . ONLY[1] that they chastise, then and there, any whom they see rebelling against their king. And the tribe of evil demons is appointed to punish those who do not worship the gods, and stung to madness by them many atheists are induced to court death in the belief that they will fly up to heaven when they have brought their lives to a violent end. Some men there are also who, though man is naturally a social and civilised being, seek out desert places instead of cities, since they have been given over to evil demons and are led by them into this hatred of their kind. And many of them have even devised fetters and stocks to wear; to such a degree does the evil demon to whom they have of their own accord given themselves abet them in all ways, after they have rebelled against the everlasting and saving gods. But on this subject what I have said is enough, and I will go back to the point at which I digressed.

[1] The beginning is lost: Julian has apparently been describing the functions of good demons, and now passes on to the demons whose task is to punish evil-doers; cf. *Oration* 2. 90 B.

Δικαιοπραγίας οὖν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους εὔδηλον ὅτι μελήσει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν πόλεων, πρέποι δ' ἂν καὶ ὑμῖν εἰς παραίνεσιν τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροὺς ὄντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς νόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἱερατικὸν βίον εἶναι χρὴ τοῦ 289
πολιτικοῦ σεμνότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοῦτον καὶ διδακτέον· ἔψονται δέ, ὡς εἰκός, οἱ βελτίους· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὔχομαι καὶ πάντας, ἐλπίζω δὲ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπιγνώσονται γὰρ οἰκείους ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

Ἀσκητέα τοίνυν πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιλανθρωπία· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἕπεται πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἡ παρὰ τῶν B
θεῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δεσπόταις συνδιατιθέμενοι περί τε φιλίας καὶ σπουδὰς καὶ ἔρωτας ἀγαπῶνται πλέον τῶν ὁμοδούλων, οὕτω νομιστέον φύσει φιλάνθρωπον ὂν τὸ θεῖον ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιλανθρωπία πολλὴ καὶ παντοία· καὶ τὸ πεφεισμένως κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ C
τῷ βελτίονι τῶν κολαζομένων, ὥσπερ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τὰ παιδία, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦν, ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας. ὁρᾶτε ὅσα ἡμῖν δεδώκασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθά, τροφὰς παντοίας καὶ ὁπόσας οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέχθημεν γυμνοί, ταῖς τε τῶν ζῴων ἡμᾶς θριξὶν ἐσκέπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δένδρων. καὶ οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδίως, καθάπερ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἔφη τοὺς χιτῶ- D

Though just conduct in accordance with the laws of the state will evidently be the concern of the governors of cities, you in your turn will properly take care to exhort men not to transgress the laws of the gods, since those are sacred. Moreover, inasmuch as the life of a priest ought to be more holy than the political life, you must guide and instruct men to adopt it. And the better sort will naturally follow your guidance. Nay I pray that all men may, but at any rate I hope that those who are naturally good and upright will do so; for they will recognise that your teachings are peculiarly adapted to them.

You must above all exercise philanthropy, for from it result many other blessings, and moreover that choicest and greatest blessing of all, the good will of the gods. For just as those who are in agreement with their masters about their friendships and ambitions and loves are more kindly treated than their fellow slaves, so we must suppose that God, who naturally loves human beings, has more kindness for those men who love their fellows. Now philanthropy has many divisions and is of many kinds. For instance it is shown when men are punished in moderation with a view to the betterment of those punished, as schoolmasters punish children; and again in ministering to men's needs, even as the gods minister to our own. You see all the blessings of the earth that they have granted to us, food of all sorts, and in an abundance that they have not granted to all other creatures put together. And since we were born naked they covered us with the hair of animals, and with things that grow in the ground and on trees. Nor were they content to do this simply or off-hand, as Moses bade men take

νας λαβεῖν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε ὅσα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἐργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δῶρα. ποῖον οἴνῳ χρῆται ζῷον; ποῖον ἐλαίῳ; πλὴν εἴ τισιν ἡμεῖς καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ μεταδιδόντες. τί δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων σίτῳ, τί δὲ τῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆται; χρυσὸν οὔπω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, οἷς πᾶσιν οἱ θεοὶ ζαπλούτους ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὐχ ἵνα ὄνειδος αὐτῶν περιορῶμεν περινοστοῦντας τοὺς πένητας, ἄλλως τε ὅταν καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τινες τύχωσι τὸν 290
τρόπον, οἷς πατρῷος μὲν κλῆρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὑπὸ δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας ἥκιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες χρημάτων πένονται. τούτους ὁρῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀνειδίζουσιν. αἴτιοι δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ τῆς τούτων πενίας, ἡ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων ἀπληστία καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀληθοῦς ὑπολήψεως αἰτία γίνεται καὶ προσέτι τοῖς θεοῖς ὀνείδους ἀδίκου. τί γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦμεν, B
ἵνα χρυσὸν ὥσπερ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ὁ θεὸς ὗσῃ τοῖς πένησιν; ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ταχέως ἡμεῖς ὑποβαλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ προθέντες παντα χοῦ τὰ ἀγγεῖα πάντας ἀπελάσομεν, ἵνα μόνοι τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἁρπάσωμεν δῶρα. θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις εἰκότως, εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀξιοῖμεν[1] οὔτε πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς πάντη, τὰ

[1] ἀξιοῖμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀξιοῦμεν MSS.

coats of skins,[1] but you see how numerous are the gifts of Athene the Craftswoman. What other animals use wine, or olive oil? Except indeed in cases where we let them share in these things, even though we do not share them with our fellowmen. What creature of the sea uses corn, what land animal uses things that grow in the sea? And I have not yet mentioned gold and bronze and iron, though in all these the gods have made us very rich; yet not to the end that we may bring reproach on them by disregarding the poor who go about in our midst, especially when they happen to be of good character—men for instance who have inherited no paternal estate, and are poor because in the greatness of their souls they have no desire for money. Now the crowd when they see such men blame the gods. However it is not the gods who are to blame for their poverty, but rather the insatiate greed of us men of property becomes the cause of this false conception of the gods among men, and besides of unjust blame of the gods. Of what use, I ask, is it for us to pray that God will rain gold on the poor as he did on the people of Rhodes?[2] For even though this should come to pass, we should forthwith set our slaves underneath to catch it, and put out vessels everywhere, and drive off all comers so that we alone might seize upon the gifts of the gods meant for all in common. And anyone would naturally think it strange if we should ask for this, which is not in the nature of things, and is in every way unprofitable, while we do

[1] *Genesis* 3. 21.

[2] Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 7. 49; this became a Sophistic commonplace. Cf. Menander (Spengel) 3. 362; Aristides 1. 807; Libanius 31. 6, Foerster; Philostratus, *Imagines* 2. 270.

δυνατὰ δὲ μὴ πράττομεν. τίς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μεταδι- C
δόναι τοῖς πέλας ἐγένετο πένης; ἐγώ τοι πολλάκις
τοῖς δεομένοις προέμενος ἐκτησάμην αὐτὰ παρὰ
θεῶν[1] πολλαπλάσια καίπερ ὢν φαῦλος χρημα-
τιστής, καὶ οὐδέποτέ μοι μετεμέλησε προεμένῳ.
καὶ τὰ μὲν νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη
παντελῶς ἄλογον, εἰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἀξιώσαιμι
βασιλικαῖς παραβάλλεσθαι χορηγίαις· ἀλλ' ὅτε D
ἔτι ἐτύγχανον ἰδιώτης, σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο
ἀποβὰν πολλάκις. ἀπεσώθη μοι τέλειος ὁ κλῆρος
τῆς τήθης, ἐχόμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων βιαίως ἐκ βραχέων
ὧν εἶχον ἀναλίσκοντι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μετα-
διδόντι.

Κοινωνητέον οὖν τῶν χρημάτων ἅπασιν ἀνθρώ-
ποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιεικέσιν ἐλευθεριώτερον,
τοῖς δὲ ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν ὅσον ἐπαρκέσαι τῇ
χρείᾳ. φαίην δ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι
καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς[2] ἐσθῆτος καὶ τροφῆς ὅσιον ἂν εἴη
μεταδιδόναι· τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ οὐ τῷ τρόπῳ 291
δίδομεν. διόπερ οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
καθειργμένους ἀξιωτέον τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας.
οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύσει τὴν δίκην ἡ τοιαύτη φιλαν-
θρωπία. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, πολλῶν ἀπο-
κεκλεισμένων ἐπὶ κρίσει, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀφλησόντων,
τῶν δὲ ἀθῳόντων ἀποφανθησομένων, μὴ διὰ τοὺς
ἀναιτίους οἰκτόν τινα νέμειν καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς,
ἀλλὰ τῶν πονηρῶν ἕνεκα καὶ περὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν B
ἠδικηκότας ἀνηλεῶς καὶ ἀπανθρώπως διακεῖσθαι.

[1] παρὰ θεῶν Hertlein suggests, παρ' αὐτῶν MSS.
[2] πονηροῖς Hertlein suggests, πολεμίοις MSS.

not do what is in our power. Who, I ask, ever became poor by giving to his neighbours? Indeed I myself, who have often given lavishly to those in need, have recovered my gifts again many times over at the hands of the gods, though I am a poor man of business; nor have I ever repented of that lavish giving. And of the present time I will say nothing, for it would be altogether irrational of me to compare the expenditure of private persons with that of an Emperor; but when I was myself still a private person I know that this happened to me many times. My grandmother's estate for instance was kept for me untouched, though others had taken possession of it by violence, because from the little that I had I spent money on those in need and gave them a share.

We ought then to share our money with all men, but more generously with the good, and with the helpless and poor so as to suffice for their need. And I will assert, even though it be paradoxical to say so, that it would be a pious act to share our clothes and food even with the wicked. For it is to the humanity in a man that we give, and not to his moral character. Hence I think that even those who are shut up in prison have a right to the same sort of care; since this kind of philanthropy will not hinder justice. For when many have been shut up in prison to await trial, of whom some will be found guilty, while others will prove to be innocent, it would be harsh indeed if out of regard for the guiltless we should not bestow some pity on the guilty also, or again, if on account of the guilty we should behave ruthlessly and inhumanly to those also who have done no wrong. This too, when I consider it,

ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐννοοῦντί μοι παντάπασιν ἄδικον καταφαίνεται· Ξένιον ὀνομάζομεν Δία, καὶ γιγνόμεθα τῶν Σκυθῶν κακοξενώτεροι. πῶς οὖν ὁ βουλόμενος τῷ Ξενίῳ θῦσαι Διὶ φοιτᾷ πρὸς τὸν νεών; μετὰ ποταποῦ συνειδότος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ

πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Πτωχοί τε ξεῖνοί τε· δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε;

Πῶς δὲ ὁ τὸν Ἑταίρειον θεραπεύων Δία, ὁρῶν C
τοὺς πέλας ἐνδεεῖς χρημάτων, εἶτα μηδ' ὅσον δραχμῆς μεταδιδούς, οἴεται τὸν Δία καλῶς θεραπεύειν; ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἀπίδω, παντελῶς ἀχανὴς γίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἐπωνυμίας τῶν θεῶν ἅμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ὁρῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπιτηδευόμενον. ὁμόγνιοι λέγονται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁμό- D
γνιος, ἔχομεν δὲ ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς συγγενεῖς· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἑκὼν καὶ ἄκων πᾶς ἐστι συγγενής, εἴτε, καθάπερ λέγεται παρά τινων, ἐξ ἑνός τε καὶ μιᾶς γενόναμεν πάντες, εἴθ' ὁπωσοῦν ἄλλως, ἀθρόως ὑποστησάντων ἡμᾶς τῶν θεῶν ἅμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἕνα καὶ μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἅμα καὶ πολλάς. οἱ γὰρ ἕνα 292
καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἅμα καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ πολλάς ὑποστῆσαι.[1] καὶ γὰρ ὃν τρόπον τόν τε ἕνα καὶ τὴν μίαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοὺς πολλούς τε καὶ τὰς πολλάς. εἷς τε τὸ διάφορον

[1] ὑποστῆσαι Reiske would add.

seems to me altogether wrong ; I mean that we call Zeus by the title "God of Strangers," while we show ourselves more inhospitable to strangers than are the very Scythians. How, I ask, can one who wishes to sacrifice to Zeus, the God of Strangers, even approach his temple? With what conscience can he do so, when he has forgotten the saying "From Zeus come all beggars and strangers ; and a gift is precious though small"? [1]

Again, the man who worships Zeus the God of Comrades, and who, though he sees his neighbours in need of money, does not give them even so much as a drachma, how, I say, can he think that he is worshipping Zeus aright? When I observe this I am wholly amazed, since I see that these titles of the gods are from the beginning of the world their express images, yet in our practice we pay no attention to anything of the sort. The gods are called by us "gods of kindred," and Zeus the "God of Kindred," but we treat our kinsmen as though they were strangers. I say "kinsmen" because every man, whether he will or no, is akin to every other man, whether it be true, as some say, that we are all descended from one man and one woman, or whether it came about in some other way, and the gods created us all together, at the first when the world began, not one man and one woman only, but many men and many women at once. For they who had the power to create one man and one woman, were able to create many men and women at once ; since the manner of creating one man and one woman is the same as that of creating many men and many women. And [2]

[1] *Odyssey* 6. 207.

[2] The connection of the thought is not clear, and Petavius thinks that something has been lost.

ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἐθῶν[1] καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεῖζον καὶ τιμιώτερον καὶ κυριώτερον, εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς B ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πεσουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν που τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε γένος. καὶ οὕτως οὖν συγγενεῖς γινόμεθα πάντες, εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ μιᾶς, ἐκ δυοῖν ἀνθρώποιν ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλαί, εἰ δέ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοί φασι καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ἐπιμαρτυρούντων τῶν ἔργων, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντες γεγονότες. ὅτι δὲ πολλοὺς ἅμα ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ τὰ C ἔργα, ῥηθήσεται μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ δι' ἀκριβείας, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκέσει τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν καὶ μιᾶς οὖσιν οὔτε τοὺς νόμους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι οὔτε ἄλλως τὴν γῆν ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐμπλησθῆναι πᾶσαν, οὐδὲ εἰ τέκνα[2] ἅμα πολλὰ καθάπερ αἱ σύες ἔτικτον αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀθρόως φυτευσάντων τῶν[3] θεῶν, ὅνπερ τρόπον ὁ εἷς, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείους προῆλθον ἄνθρωποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες, οἳ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δημι- D ουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αἰῶνος.

Κἀκεῖνο δ' ἄξιον ἐννοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνάλωνται λόγοι περὶ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικὸν εἶναι ζῷον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνήτως πρὸς τοὺς

[1] ἐθῶν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαθῶν Petavius, ἠθῶν MSS.
[2] τέκνα Hertlein would add.
[3] φυτευσάντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, νευσάντων MSS.

one must have regard to the differences in our habits and laws, or still more to that which is higher and more precious and more authoritative, I mean the sacred tradition of the gods which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of earlier days, namely that when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood, and from them, as they say, arose the race of men. It follows therefore that we are all kinsmen, whether, many men and women as we are, we come from two human beings, or whether, as the gods tell us, and as we ought to believe, since facts bear witness thereto, we are all descended from the gods. And that facts bear witness that many men came into the world at once, I shall maintain elsewhere, and precisely, but for the moment it will be enough to say this much, that if we were descended from one man and one woman, it is not likely that our laws would show such great divergence; nor in any case is it likely that the whole earth was filled with people by one man; nay, not even if the women used to bear many children at a time to their husbands, like swine. But when the gods all together had given birth to men, just as one man came forth, so in like manner came forth many men who had been allotted to the gods who rule over births; and they brought them forth, receiving their souls from the Demiurge from eternity.[1]

It is proper also to bear in mind how many discourses have been devoted by men in the past to show that man is by nature a social animal. And shall we, after asserting this and enjoining it, bear

[1] Julian here prefers the Platonic account of the creation in the *Timaeus* to the Biblical narrative.

πλησίον ἔξομεν; ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἠθῶν τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὁρμώμενος εὐλαβείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεούς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, 293
ἁγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα πληρούτω, πειρώμενος δὲ ἀεί τι περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβὲς διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετά τινος ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τιμῆς καὶ ὁσιότητος, σεβόμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παρόντας ἑώρα τοὺς θεούς. ἀγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ πυρὸς ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἔθεντο τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν, οὐχ ἵνα ἐκεῖνα θεοὺς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα B
δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἐν σώματι σωματικῶς[1] ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσώματοι δέ εἰσιν αὐτοί· πρῶτα μὲν ἔδειξαν ἡμῖν ἀγάλματα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν θεῶν γένος περὶ πάντα τὸν οὐρανὸν κύκλῳ περιφερόμενον. δυνα- C
μένης δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀποδίδοσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σωματικῶς· ἀπροσδεᾶ γάρ ἐστι φύσει· ἕτερον[2] ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξηυρέθη γένος ἀγαλμάτων, εἰς ὃ τὰς θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς εὐμενεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς καταστήσομεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασι-
λέων θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδὲν δεομένων, ὅμως ἐφέλκονται τὴν εὔνοιαν εἰς ἑαυτούς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, δεομένων οὐδὲν D
τῶν θεῶν, ὅμως πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαμύνειν σφίσι

[1] *σωματικῶς* Petavius, Hertlein approves, *σωματικὰς* MSS.
[2] *ἕτερον* Hertlein suggests, *δεύτερον* Reiske, *τρίτον* MSS.

ourselves unsociably to our neighbours? Then let everyone make the basis of his conduct moral virtues, and actions like these, namely reverence towards the gods, benevolence towards men, personal chastity; and thus let him abound in pious acts, I mean by endeavouring always to have pious thoughts about the gods, and by regarding the temples and images of the gods with due honour and veneration, and by worshipping the gods as though he saw them actually present. For our fathers established images and altars, and the maintenance of undying fire, and, generally speaking, everything of the sort, as symbols of the presence of the gods, not that we may regard such things as gods, but that we may worship the gods through them. For since being in the body it was in bodily wise that we must needs perform our service to the gods also, though they are themselves without bodies; they therefore revealed to us in the earliest images the class of gods next in rank to the first, even those that revolve in a circle about the whole heavens. But since not even to these can due worship be offered in bodily wise—for they are by nature not in need of anything[1]—another class of images was invented on the earth, and by performing our worship to them we shall make the gods propitious to ourselves. For just as those who make offerings to the statues of the emperors, who are in need of nothing, nevertheless induce goodwill towards themselves thereby, so too those who make offerings to the images of the gods, though the gods need nothing, do nevertheless thereby persuade them to help and

[1] cf. St. Paul, *Acts* 17. 25, "neither is he worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything."

καὶ κήδεσθαι· δεῖγμα γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς
ὁσιότητος ἡ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ
ταύτην πληρῶν εὔδηλον ὅτι μειζόνως ἐκείνην
ἀποδίδωσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ὀλιγωρῶν, εἶτα
προσποιούμενος τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὀρέγεσθαι δῆλός
ἐστιν οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μεταδιώκων, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα παρο- 294
ρῶν· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσοιστέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς διὰ λόγων
εὐφημίας δεῖται. τί οὖν; εὔλογον αὐτὸν ἀπο-
στερῆσαι καὶ ταύτης; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ B
τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἰς αὐτὸν γιγνομένης τιμῆς, ἣς
ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς οὐδὲ τρισχίλιοι,
πᾶς δὲ ὁ προλαβὼν αἰὼν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς
ἔθνεσιν.

Ἀφορῶντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα μή C
τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἶναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ
μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ
οὐδὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ
χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βα-
σιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. ὅστις οὖν ἐστι
φιλοβασιλεὺς ἡδέως ὁρᾷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰ-
κόνα, καὶ ὅστις ἐστὶ φιλόπαις ἡδέως ὁρᾷ τὴν τοῦ D
παιδός, καὶ ὅστις φιλοπάτωρ τὴν τοῦ πατρός.
οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις φιλόθεος ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν
ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμε-
νος ἅμα καὶ φρίττων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὁρῶντας εἰς αὐ-
τὸν τοὺς θεούς. εἴ τις οὖν οἴεται δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ
φθείρεσθαι διὰ τὸ θεῶν ἅπαξ εἰκόνας κληθῆναι,

to care for them. For zeal to do all that is in one's power is, in truth, a proof of piety, and it is evident that he who abounds in such zeal thereby displays a higher degree of piety; whereas he who neglects what is possible, and then pretends to aim at what is impossible, evidently does not strive after the impossible, since he overlooks the possible. For even though God stands in need of nothing, it does not follow that on that account nothing ought to be offered to him. He does not need the reverence that is paid in words. What then? Is it rational to deprive him of this also? By no means. It follows then that one ought not to deprive him either of the honour that is paid to him through deeds, an honour which not three years or three thousand years have ordained, but all past time among all the nations of the earth.

Therefore, when we look at the images of the gods, let us not indeed think they are stones or wood, but neither let us think they are the gods themselves; and indeed we do not say that the statues of the emperors are mere wood and stone and bronze, but still less do we say they are the emperors themselves. He therefore who loves the emperor delights to see the emperor's statue, and he who loves his son delights to see his son's statue, and he who loves his father delights to see his father's statue. It follows that he who loves the gods delights to gaze on the images of the gods, and their likenesses, and he feels reverence and shudders with awe of the gods who look at him from the unseen world. Therefore if any man thinks that because they have once been called likenesses of the gods, they are incapable of being destroyed, he is, it

παντελῶς ἄφρων εἶναί μοι φαίνεται. χρῆν γὰρ δήπουθεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295
δὲ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθαρῆναι δύναται. τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ζῶντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευασθέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν κύκλῳ φερόμενοι θεοί, μένει τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀίδια. μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστείτω θεοῖς ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων, ὡς ἐνύβρισάν τινες εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τοὺς ναούς. ἆρ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπους χρηστοὺς ἀπέκτειναν πολλοί, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Δίωνα B
καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἐμπεδότιμον; ὧν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐμέλησε τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε, ὅτι καὶ τούτων φθαρτὸν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχώρησαν εἶξαι τῇ φύσει καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, δίκην δὲ ἀπῄτησαν ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. ὃ δὴ συνέβη φανερῶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἱεροσύλων.

Μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπατάτω λόγοις μηδὲ ταραττέτω περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες C
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ προφῆται, τί περὶ τοῦ νεὼ φήσουσι τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τρίτον ἀνατραπέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον οὐκ ὀνειδίζων ἐκείνοις, ὅς γε τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀναστήσασθαι διενοήθην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ θεοῦ· νυνὶ δὲ ἐχρησάμην αὐτῷ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D
οὐδὲν ἄφθαρτον εἶναι δύναται καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα

seems to me, altogether foolish; for surely in that case they were incapable of being made by men's hands. But what has been made by a wise and good man can be destroyed by a bad and ignorant man. But those beings which were fashioned by the gods as the living images of their invisible nature, I mean the gods who revolve in a circle in the heavens, abide imperishable for all time. Therefore let no man disbelieve in gods because he sees and hears that certain persons have profaned their images and temples. Have they not in many cases put good men to death, like Socrates and Dio and the great Empedotimus?[1] And yet I am very sure that the gods cared more for these men than for the temples. But observe that since they knew that the bodies even of these men were destructible, they allowed them to yield to nature and to submit, but later on they exacted punishment from their slayers; and this has happened in the sight of all, in our own day also, in the case of all who have profaned the temples.

Therefore let no man deceive us with his sayings or trouble our faith in a divine providence. For as for those who make such profanation a reproach against us, I mean the prophets of the Jews, what have they to say about their own temple, which was overthrown three times and even now is not being raised up again? This I mention not as a reproach against them, for I myself, after so great a lapse of time, intended to restore it, in honour of the god whose name has been associated with it. But in the present case I have used this instance because I wish to prove that nothing made by man can be inde-

[1] Of Syracuse, whose claim to be immortal was accepted by the Sicilians.

γράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφῆται, γραδίοις ψυχροῖς ὁμιλοῦντες. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι κωλύει τὸν μὲν θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν οὐδὲ ἐξηγητῶν τυχεῖν. αἴτιον δέ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν οὐ παρέσχον ἀποκαθῆραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασιν οὐδὲ ἀνοῖξαι μεμυκότα λίαν τὰ ὄμματα οὐδὲ ἀνακαθῆραι τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτοῖς ἀχλύν, 296
ἀλλ' οἷον φῶς μέγα δι' ὁμίχλης οἱ ἄνθρωποι βλέποντες οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνο νενομικότες οὐχὶ φῶς καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὄντες ἀθέατοι βοῶσι μέγα· Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι μίαν ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν βλαπτικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἰδίᾳ βέλτιον παραστῆσαι, πόσῳ B
φαυλότεροι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὗτοι γεγόνασι ποιητῶν οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

Προσήκει δὲ οὐ τὰ τῶν θεῶν μόνον ἀγάλματα προσκυνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς βωμούς· εὔλογον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τιμᾶν ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακονοῦντας ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, συνεπισχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσει· C
προθύουσι γὰρ πάντων καὶ ὑπερεύχονται. δίκαιον οὖν ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ἢ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσι τὰς τιμάς. εἰ δέ τις οἴεται τοῦτο ἐπ' ἴσης χρῆναι νέμειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐπεὶ

structible, and that those prophets who wrote such statements were uttering nonsense, due to their gossipping with silly old women. In my opinion there is no reason why their god should not be a mighty god, even though he does not happen to have wise prophets or interpreters. But the real reason why they are not wise is that they have not submitted their souls to be cleansed by the regular course of study, nor have they allowed those studies to open their tightly closed eyes, and to clear away the mist that hangs over them. But since these men see as it were a great light through a fog, not plainly or clearly, and since they think that what they see is not a pure light but a fire, and they fail to discern all that surrounds it, they cry with a loud voice: "Tremble, be afraid, fire, flame, death, a dagger, a broad-sword!" thus describing under many names the harmful might of fire. But on this subject it will be better to demonstrate separately how much inferior to our own poets are these teachers of tales about the gods.

It is our duty to adore not only the images of the gods, but also their temples and sacred precincts and altars. And it is reasonable to honour the priests also as officials and servants of the gods; and because they minister to us what concerns the gods, and they lend strength to the gods' gift of good things to us; for they sacrifice and pray on behalf of all men. It it therefore right that we should pay them all not less, if not indeed more, than the honours that we pay to the magistrates of the state. And if any one thinks that we ought to assign equal honours to them and to the magistrates of the state, since the latter

κἀκεῖνοι τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερατεύουσι, φύλακες ὄντες τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τά γε τῆς εὐνοίας παρὰ πολὺ χρὴ νέμειν τούτοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ D
Ἀχαιοὶ καίπερ πολέμιον ὄντα τὸν ἱερέα προσέταττον αἰδεῖσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους αἰδούμεθα τοὺς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θύοντας.

Ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθουμένην ἀρχὴν ἐλήλυθεν, ἄξιον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ διελθεῖν ἐφεξῆς, ὁποῖός τις ὢν ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτός τε δικαίως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσει.[1] τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἕως ἂν ἱερεύς τις ὀνομάζηται, 297
τιμᾶν αὐτὸν χρὴ καὶ θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ εἴη πονηρός, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφανθέντα περιορᾶν· ἕως δὲ προθύει καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμιώτατον τῶν θεῶν κτῆμα προσβλεπτέος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας. ἄτοπον γάρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, ἐξ ὧν οἱ βωμοὶ πεποίηνται, διὰ τὸ καθιερῶσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαπῶμεν,[2] ὅτι μορφὴν ἔχουσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέπον, εἰς ἣν εἰσι κατεσκευασμένοι λειτουργίαν, B
ἄνδρα δὲ καθωσιωμένον τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ οἰησόμεθα χρῆναι τιμᾶν. ἴσως ὑπολήψεταί τις· ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνοντα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς

[1] καὶ—ποιήσει Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.
[2] ἀγαπῶμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαπήσομεν MSS.

also are in some sort dedicated to the service of the gods, as being guardians of the laws, nevertheless we ought at any rate to give the priests a far greater share of our good will. The Achaeans, for instance, enjoined on their king[1] to reverence the priest, though he was one of the enemy, whereas we do not even reverence the priests who are our friends, and who pray and sacrifice on our behalf.

But since my discourse has come back again to the beginning as I have so long wished, I think it is worth while for me to describe next in order what sort of man a priest ought to be, in order that he may justly be honoured himself and may cause the gods to be honoured. For as for us, we ought not to investigate or enquire as to his conduct, but so long as a man is called a priest we ought to honour and cherish him, but if he prove to be wicked we ought to allow his priestly office to be taken away from him, since he has shown himself unworthy of it. But so long as he sacrifices for us and makes offerings and stands in the presence of the gods, we must regard him with respect and reverence as the most highly honoured chattel[2] of the gods. For it would be absurd for us to pay respect to the very stones of which the altars are made, on account of their being dedicated to the gods, because they have a certain shape and form suited to the ritual for which they have been fashioned, and then not to think that we ought to honour a man who has been dedicated to the gods. Perhaps someone will object—"But suppose he does wrong and often fails to offer to the gods their sacred

[1] Agamemnon; *Iliad* 1. 23.
[2] cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62 c; *Letter to the Athenians* 276 b.

τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίων; ἐγὼ δή φημι χρῆναι τὸν μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐξελέγχειν, ἵνα μὴ πονηρὸς ὢν ἐνοχλῇ τοὺς θεούς, ἕως δ' ἂν ἐξελέγξῃ[1] τις, μὴ ἀτιμάζειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ εὔλογον ἐπιλαβομένους ταύτης τῆς C ἀφορμῆς οὐ τούτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τιμᾶσθαι τὴν τιμὴν προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. ἔστω τοίνυν ὥσπερ ἄρχων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἱερεὺς πᾶς αἰδέσιμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀπόφασίς ἐστι θεοῦ τοῦ Διδυμαίου τοιαύτη·

"Οσσοι ἐς ἀρητῆρας ἀτασθαλίῃσι νόοιο
Ἀθανάτων ῥέζουσ' ἀποφώλια, καὶ γεράεσσιν
Ἀντία βουλεύουσιν ἀδεισιθέοισι λογισμοῖς, D
Οὐκέθ' ὅλην βιότοιο διεκπερόωσιν ἀταρπόν,
"Οσσοι περ μακάρεσσιν ἑλωβήσαντο θεοῖσιν,
Ὧν κεῖνοι θεόσεπτον ἔλον θεραπηίδα τιμήν,

καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ θεός φησι 298

Πάντας μὲν θεράποντας ἐμοὺς ὀλοῆς κακότητος—,

καί φησιν ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκην ἐπιθήσειν αὐτοῖς.

Πολλῶν δὲ εἰρημένων τοιούτων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, δι' ὧν ἔνεστι μαθόντας ὅπως χρὴ τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰρήσεταί μοι διὰ πλειόνων ἐν ἄλλοις· ἀπόχρη δὲ νῦν, ὅτι μὴ σχεδιάζω μηδέν, ἐπιδεῖξαι τήν τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν B καὶ τὸ ἐπίταγμα τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἱκανὸν ἡγούμενος. εἴ τις οὖν ἀξιόπιστον ὑπείληφεν ἐμὲ διδάσκαλον τῶν τοιούτων, αἰδεσθεὶς τὸν

[1] ἐξελέγξῃ Hertlein suggests, ἐξελέγχῃ MSS.

rites?" Then indeed I answer that we ought to convict a man of that sort, so that he may not by his wickedness offend the gods; but that we ought not to dishonour him until he has been convicted. Nor indeed is it reasonable that when we have set our hands to this business, we should take away their honour not only from these offenders but also from those who are worthy to be honoured. Then let every priest, like every magistrate, be treated with respect, since there is also an oracle to that effect from the Didymaean god:[1] "As for men who with reckless minds work wickedness against the priests of the deathless gods and plot against their privileges with plans that fear not the gods, never shall such men travel life's path to the end, men who have sinned against the blessed gods whose honour and holy service those priests have in charge."[2] And again in another oracle the god says: "All my servants from harmful mischief——;"[3] and he says that on their behalf he will inflict punishment on the aggressors.

Now though there are many utterances of the god to the same effect, by means of which we may learn to honour and cherish priests as we ought, I shall speak on this subject elsewhere at greater length. But for the present it is enough to point out that I am not inventing anything offhand, since I think that the declaration made by the god and the injunction expressed in his own words are sufficient. Therefore let any man who considers that as a teacher of such matters I am worthy to be believed

[1] Apollo.

[2] An oracle from an unknown source: these verses occur again in *Epistle* 62. 451 A.

[3] *Sc.* I will protect.

θεὸν ἐκείνῳ πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν θεῶν τιμάτω διαφερόντως· ὁποῖον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι χρή, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἠπιστάμην, ἅμα μὲν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, ἅμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυρούντων, ὅτι τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήσῃ C
καλῶς, ὅσα γε εἰς προαίρεσιν ἥκει τὴν σήν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐτόλμησά σοι μεταδοῦναι τοσούτου πράγματος· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχῃς ἐντεῦθεν διδάσκειν τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογώτερον καὶ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ὡς οὐκ οἴκοθεν αὐτὰ νοεῖς καὶ πράττεις μόνος, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ σύμψηφον σεαυτῷ, δοκοῦντά γε εἶναι διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, ἄξιον μὲν οὐδαμῶς πράγματος τοσούτου, βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι καὶ προσευχόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, D
μεγάλας ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐλπίδας ἐπαγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως. ἀψευδεῖν γὰρ εἰώθασιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῷδε. οἱ δὲ διὰ περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οἷοί τε ὄντες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ 299
βίῳ τούτῳ περιγενέσθαι ταραχῆς καὶ τὸ ἄτακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον ἐπανορθοῦν ἆρ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅπου διῄρηται τὰ μαχόμενα, χωρισθείσης μὲν τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἱκανοὶ παρασχεῖν ἔσονται ταῦθ' ὅσαπερ ἐπηγγείλαντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἔδοσαν

show due respect to the god and obey him, and honour the priests of the gods above all other men. And now I will try to describe what sort of man a priest himself ought to be, though not for your especial benefit. For if I did not already know from the evidence both of the high priest and of the most mighty gods that you administer this priestly office aright—at least all matters that come under your management—I should not have ventured to confide to you a matter so important. But I do so in order that you may be able from what I say to instruct the other priests, not only in the cities but in the country districts also, more convincingly and with complete freedom ; since not of your own self do you alone devise these precepts and practise them, but you have me also to give you support, who by the grace of the gods am known as sovereign pontiff, though I am indeed by no means worthy of so high an office ; though I desire, and moreover constantly pray to the gods that I may be worthy. For the gods, you must know, hold out great hopes for us after death ; and we must believe them absolutely. For they are always truthful, not only about the future life, but about the affairs of this life also. And since in the superabundance of their power they are able both to overcome the confusion that exists in this life and to regulate its disorders and irregularities, will they not all the more in that other life where conflicting things are reconciled, after the immortal soul has been separated from the body and the lifeless body has turned to earth, be able to bestow all those things for which they have held out hopes to mankind? Therefore since we know that the gods

οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ἐγγύους αὐτοὺς ἐν πᾶσι τῆς ἀξίας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσωμεν, ὧν πρὸς τὰ πλήθη χρὴ λέγειν δεῖγμα τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐκφέροντας βίον. B

Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁρῶσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ὁρωμένοις δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγῆς ὄμμα κρεῖττον ἄχρι τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἡμῖν λογι- C σμῶν διατετακόσιν. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν εἰρημένος λόγων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δῆτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ἕνα παραθεμένῳ δύο δι' ἑνὸς παραστῆσαι, πῶς μὲν ὁρῶσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν εὐφραίνονται·

Πάντη Φοιβείη τέταται τανυσίσκοπος ἀκτίς·
Καί τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεῖ θοὸν ὄμμα πετράων, D
Καὶ διὰ κυανέης ἁλὸς ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ἑ λήθει
Πληθὺς ἀστερόεσσα παλινδίνητος ἰοῦσα
Οὐρανὸν εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσμὸν ἀνάγκης,
Οὐδ' ὅσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φῦλα καμόντων
Τάρταρος ἀχλυόεντος[1] ὑπὸ ζόφον αἴδος εἴσω· 300
Εὐσεβέσιν δὲ βροτοῖς γάνυμαι τόσον, ὅσσον Ὀλύμπῳ.

Ὅσῳ δὲ λίθου καὶ πέτρας ἅπασα μὲν ψυχή, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκειότερον ἔχει καὶ συγγενέστερον πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστι ῥᾷον καὶ ἐνεργέστερον δι' αὐτῆς

[1] ἀχλυόεντος Hertlein suggests; ἀχλυόεσσαν MSS.

have granted to their priests a great recompense, let us make them responsible in all things for men's esteem of the gods, displaying their own lives as an example of what they ought to preach to the people.

The first thing we ought to preach is reverence towards the gods. For it is fitting that we should perform our service to the gods as though they were themselves present with us and beheld us, and though not seen by us could direct their gaze, which is more powerful than any light, even as far as our hidden thoughts. And this saying is not my own [1] but the god's, and has been declared in many utterances, but for me surely it is sufficient, by bringing forth one such utterance, to illustrate two things in one, namely how the gods see all things and how they rejoice in god-fearing men: "On all sides extend the far-seeing rays of Phoebus. His swift gaze pierces even through sturdy rocks, and travels through the dark blue sea, nor is he unaware of the starry multitude that passes in returning circuit through the unwearied heavens for ever by the statutes of necessity; nor of all the tribes of the dead in the underworld whom Tartarus has admitted within the misty dwelling of Hades, beneath the western darkness. And I delight in god-fearing men as much even as in Olympus." [2]

Now in so far as all soul, but in a much higher degree the soul of man, is akin to and related to the gods, so much the more is it likely that the gaze of the gods should penetrate through his soul easily and

[1] Euripides, *fr.* 488 Nauck; cf. 197 C, 358 D, 387 B, 391 this phrase became a proverb; cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus* 789.
[2] An oracle from an unknown source.

χωρεῖν τῶν θεῶν τὸ ὄμμα. θέα[1] δὲ τὴν φιλαν- B
θρωπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γάνυσθαι φάσκοντος τῇ τῶν
εὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διανοίᾳ ὅσον Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ καθα-
ρωτάτῳ. πῶς[2] ἡμῖν οὗτος οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς
ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζόφου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου
μετ᾽ εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσιόντων; οἷδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλεισμένους· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐκτὸς πίπτει δυνάμεως·
ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀντὶ C
τοῦ Ταρτάρου. διόπερ χρὴ μάλιστα τῶν τῆς
εὐσεβείας ἔργων ἀντέχεσθαι προσιόντας μὲν τοῖς
θεοῖς μετ᾽ εὐλαβείας, αἰσχρὸν μηδὲν μήτε λέγοντας
μήτε ἀκούοντας. ἁγνεύειν δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἱερέας οὐκ
ἔργων μόνον ἀκαθάρτων οὐδὲ ἀσελγῶν πράξεων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιούτων.
ἐξελατέα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπαχθῆ
σκώμματα, πᾶσα δὲ ἀσελγὴς ὁμιλία. καὶ ὅπως
εἰδέναι ἔχῃς ὃ βούλομαι φράζειν, ἱερωμένος τις
μήτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μήτε Ἱππώνακτα D
μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γραφόντων.
ἀποκλινέτω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας ὅσα τῆς
τοιαύτης ἰδέας· ἄμεινον μὲν γάρ· καὶ πάντως
πρέποι δ᾽ ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη, καὶ τούτων
οἱ θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας προστησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν
παιδείας, ὥσπερ[3] Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλης οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήνωνα.
προσεκτέον μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πᾶσιν οὔτε τοῖς πάντων
δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοις μόνον καὶ ἐκείνων, ὅσα 301

[1] θέα Brambs, MSS., θεῷ Reiske, Cobet, Hertlein.
[2] πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
[3] ὥσπερ Hertlein suggests, ὅπερ MSS.

effectively. And observe the love of the god for mankind when he says that he delights in the disposition of god-fearing men as much as in Olympus most pure and bright. How then shall he not lead up our souls from the darkness and from Tartarus, if we approach him with pious awe? And indeed he has knowledge even of those who have been imprisoned in Tartarus—for not even that region falls outside the power of the gods,—and to the god-fearing he promises Olympus instead of Tartarus. Wherefore we ought by all means to hold fast to deeds of piety, approaching the gods with reverence, and neither saying nor listening to anything base. And the priests ought to keep themselves pure not only from impure or shameful acts, but also from uttering words and hearing speeches of that character. Accordingly we must banish all offensive jests and all licentious intercourse. And that you may understand what I mean by this, let no one who has been consecrated a priest read either Archilochus or Hipponax [1] or anyone else who writes such poems as theirs. And in Old Comedy let him avoid everything of that type—for it is better so—and indeed on all accounts philosophy alone will be appropriate for us priests; and of philosophers only those who chose the gods as guides of their mental discipline, like Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle, and the school of Chrysippus and Zeno. For we ought not to give heed to them all nor to the doctrines of all, but only to those philosophers and those of their doctrines that make

[1] Hipponax of Ephesus, a scurrilous poet who wrote in choliambics (the skazon) and flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Horace, *Epodes* 6. 12.

εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ ποιητικὰ καὶ διδάσκει περὶ θεῶν πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εἰσίν, εἶτα ὡς προνοοῦσι τῶν τῇδε, καὶ ὡς ἐργάζονται μὲν οὐδὲ ἓν κακὸν οὔτε ἀνθρώπους οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὁποῖα γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν ποιηταὶ κατεφρονήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προφῆται διατεταμένως συγκατασκευάζοντες ὑπὸ B
τῶν ἀθλίων τούτων τῶν προσνειμάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέποι δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνειν, ὁπόσαι συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένοις τοῖς ἔργοις· ὅσα δέ ἐστιν ἐν ἱστορίας εἴδει παρὰ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παραιτητέον, ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁδὸς πᾶσα τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἁρμόττει, τετάχθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτας, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀνά- C
γνωσμα πᾶν ἱερωμένῳ πρέπει. ἐγγίνεται γάρ τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἶτα ἐξαίφνης ἀνάπτει δεινὴν φλόγα, πρὸς ἣν οἶμαι χρὴ πόρρωθεν παρατετάχθαι.

Μήτε Ἐπικούρειος εἰσίτω λόγος μήτε Πυρρώνειος· ἤδη μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνῃρήκασιν, ὥστε ἐπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα D
τῶν βιβλίων. ὅμως οὐδὲν κωλύει τύπου χάριν ἐπιμνησθῆναι μὲν καὶ τούτων, ὁποίων χρὴ μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερέας ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἰ δὲ λόγων, πολὺ πρότερον ἐννοιῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶμαι ταὐτόν ἐστιν

men god-fearing, and teach concerning the gods, first that they exist, secondly that they concern themselves with the things of this world, and further that they do no injury at all either to mankind or to one another, out of jealousy or envy or enmity. I mean the sort of thing our poets in the first place have brought themselves into disrepute by writing, and in the second place such tales as the prophets of the Jews take pains to invent, and are admired for so doing by those miserable men who have attached themselves to the Galilaeans.

But for us it will be appropriate to read such narratives as have been composed about deeds that have actually been done; but we must avoid all fictions in the form of narrative such as were circulated among men in the past, for instance tales whose theme is love, and generally speaking everything of that sort. For just as not every road is suitable for consecrated priests, but the roads they travel ought to be duly assigned, so not every sort of reading is suitable for a priest. For words breed a certain sort of disposition in the soul, and little by little it arouses desires, and then on a sudden kindles a terrible blaze, against which one ought, in my opinion, to arm oneself well in advance.

Let us not admit discourses by Epicurus or Pyrrho; but indeed the gods have already in their wisdom destroyed their works, so that most of their books have ceased to be. Nevertheless there is no reason why I should not, by way of example, mention these works too, to show what sort of discourses priests must especially avoid; and if such discourses, then much more must they avoid such thoughts. For an error of speech is, in my

ἁμάρτημα γλώττης καὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην χρὴ μάλιστα θεραπεύειν, ὡς καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐκείνῃ συνεξαμαρτανούσης. ἐκμανθάνειν χρὴ τοὺς ὕμνους τῶν θεῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ καλοὶ πεποιημένοι παλαιοῖς καὶ νέοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πειρατέον ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ᾀδομένους. οἱ πλεῖστοι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἱκετευθέντων ἐδόθησαν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες 302
ἐποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐνθέου καὶ ψυχῆς ἀβάτου τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συγκείμενοι.

Ταῦτά γε ἄξιον ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εὔχεσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, μάλιστα μὲν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως ὄρθρου γε[1] καὶ δείλης· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὔλογον ἄθυτον ἄγειν ἡμέραν ἢ νύκτα τὸν ἱερωμένον· ἀρχὴ δὲ ὄρθρος μὲν ἡμέρας, B
ὀψία δὲ νυκτός. εὔλογον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἱερατικῆς ὄντες τυγχάνωμεν λειτουργίας· ὡς τά γε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅσα πάτριος διαγορεύει νόμος, φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἔλαττόν τι ποιητέον αὐτῶν· ἀίδια γάρ ἐστι τὰ τῶν θεῶν· ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἱλασκώμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον. C

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦμεν αὐτοψυχαὶ μόναι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἡμῖν διώχλει, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν ἕνα τινὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφορίζειν βίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ἱερεῦσιν ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ[2] ἱερεῖ προσήκει μόνον, ὃ δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτηδευτέον,

[1] γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.
[2] τῷ Wright, ὡς Hertlein, MSS. The meaning is not clear and Petavius suspects corruption.

opinion, by no means the same as an error of the mind, but we ought to give heed to the mind first of all, since the tongue sins in company with it. We ought to learn by heart the hymns in honour of the gods—and many and beautiful they are, composed by men of old and of our own time—though indeed we ought to try to know also those which are being sung in the temples. For the greater number were bestowed on us by the gods themselves, in answer to prayer, though some few also were written by men, and were composed in honour of the gods by the aid of divine inspiration and a soul inaccessible to things evil.

All this, at least, we ought to study to do, and we ought also to pray often to the gods, both in private and in public, if possible three times a day, but if not so often, certainly at dawn and in the evening. For it is not meet that a consecrated priest should pass a day or a night without sacrifice; and dawn is the beginning of the day as twilight is of the night. And it is proper to begin both periods with sacrifice to the gods, even when we happen not to be assigned to perform the service. For it is our duty to maintain all the ritual of the temples that the law of our fathers prescribes, and we ought to perform neither more nor less than that ritual; for eternal are the gods, so that we too ought to imitate their essential nature in order that thereby we may make them propitious.

Now if we were pure soul alone, and our bodies did not hinder us in any respect, it would be well to prescribe one sort of life for priests. But since what he should practise when on duty concerns the individual priest alone, not priests absolutely, what

τί δὲ τῷ[1] ἱερατεύειν ἀνθρώπῳ λαχόντι συγχωρητέον, ὅταν ἐκτὸς ᾖ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίας; οἶμαι δὲ χρῆναι τὸν ἱερέα πάντων ἁγνεύσαντα D
νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, εἶτα ἄλλην ἐπ' αὐτῇ νύκτα καθηράμενον οἷς διαγορεύουσιν οἱ θεσμοὶ καθαρμοῖς οὕτως εἴσω φοιτῶντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μένειν ὅσας ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύῃ. τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ ἄλλως. εὔλογον οὖν οἶμαι μένειν ἁπάσας ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφοῦντα, καὶ μήτε
εἰς οἰκίαν βαδίζειν μήτε εἰς ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ 303
ἄρχοντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁρᾶν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας αὐτὸν ἐφορῶντα πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα, πληρώσαντα δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας εἶτα ἑτέρῳ παραχωρεῖν τῆς λειτουργίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρεπομένῳ βίον ἐξέστω καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου καὶ εἰς ἑστίασιν
ἁπαντᾶν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν B
βελτίστων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγορὰν παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον ὀλιγάκις, ἡγεμόνα τε προσειπεῖν καὶ ἔθνους ἄρχοντα, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως δεομένοις ὅσα ἐνδέχεται βοηθῆσαι.

Πρέπει δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνδον μέν, ὅτε λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ, τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἔξω τῇ συνήθει δίχα πολυ-

[1] τῷ Hertlein suggests, ὡς MSS.

should we concede to a man who has received the office of priest, on occasions when he is not actually engaged in service in the temples? I think that a priest ought to keep himself pure from all contamination, for a night and a day, and then after purifying himself for another night following on the first, with such rites of purification as the sacred laws prescribe, he should under these conditions enter the temple and remain there for as many days as the law commands. (Thirty is the number with us at Rome, but in other places the number varies.) It is proper then, I think, that he should remain throughout all these days in the sacred precincts, devoting himself to philosophy, and that he should not enter a house or a market-place, or see even a magistrate, except in the precincts, but should concern himself with his service to the god, overseeing and arranging everything in person; and then, when he has completed the term of days, he should retire from his office in favour of another. And when he turns again to the ordinary life of mankind, he may be allowed to visit a friend's house, and, when invited, to attend a feast, but not on the invitation of all but only of persons of the highest character. And at this time there would be nothing out of the way in his going occasionally to the market-place and conversing with the governor or the chief magistrate of his tribe, and giving aid, as far as lies in his power, to those who have a good reason for needing it.

And it is in my opinion fitting for priests to wear the most magnificent dress when they are within the temple performing the services, but when they are outside the sacred precincts to wear ordinary dress,

τελείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὔλογον τοῖς δεδομένοις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφον μάταιον. ὅθεν ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθῆτος πολυτελε- C
στέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ἢ καὶ πάσης ἁπλῶς ἀλαζονείας. οἱ γοῦν θεοὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀγασθέντες Ἀμφιαράου σωφροσύνην, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθορὰν εἰδώς τε αὐτὸς συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἦν ἄφευκτον αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀπέφηναν αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λῆξιν θείαν. πάν-
των γοῦν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ταῖς Θήβαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι σή- D
ματα γραφόντων καὶ ἐγειρόντων τὰ τρόπαια κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς[1] τῶν Καδμείων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὁμιλητὴς ἄσημα μὲν ἐπεστράτευεν ἔχων ὅπλα, πραότητα δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην ὡς καὶ[2] ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διόπερ οἶμαι χρὴ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἡμᾶς τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας σωφρονεῖν,[3] ἵνα τυγχάνωμεν εὐμενῶν τῶν θεῶν· ὡς οὐ μικρά γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν δημούμενοι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ δημοσιεύοντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304
ἁπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥσπερ τι θαυμαστόν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο[4] συμβαίνει, πολλοὶ πελάζουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ καθαροί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χραί-
νεται τὰ τῶν θεῶν σύμβολα. τὸ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς

[1] *κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς* Hertlein suggests, *καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς* MSS.
[2] *ὡς καὶ* Hertlein would add.
[3] *ἡμᾶς—σωφρονεῖν* Cobet suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
[4] *εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο* Hertlein suggests, *εἴπερ ἐκ τούτου* MSS.

without any extravagance. For it is not rational that we should misuse, in empty conceit and vain ostentation, what has been given to us for the honour of the gods. And for this reason we ought in the market place to abstain from too costly dress and from outward show, and in a word from every sort of pretentiousness. For consider how the gods, because they admired the perfect moderation of Amphiaraus,[1] after they had decreed the destruction of that famous army—and he, though he knew that it would be so, went with the expedition and therefore did not escape his fated end,—the gods I say transformed him completely from what he had been, and removed him to the sphere of the gods. For all the others who were in the expedition against Thebes engraved a device on their shields before they had conquered the enemy, and erected trophies to celebrate the downfall of the Cadmeans; but he, the associate of the gods, when he went to war had arms with no device; but gentleness he had, and moderation, as even the enemy bore witness. Hence I think that we priests ought to show moderation in our dress, in order that we may win the goodwill of the gods, since it is no slight offence that we commit against them when we wear in public the sacred dress and make it public property, and in a word give all men an opportunity to stare at it as though it were something marvellous. For whenever this happens, many who are not purified come near us, and by this means the symbols of the gods are polluted. Moreover

[1] Cf. Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes*; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1118

ὁ μάντις Ἀμφιάραος οὐ σημεῖ' ἔχων
ὑβρισμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἄσημ' ὅπλα.

αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἱερατικῶς ζῶντας ἱερέων ἐσθῆτα περικεῖσθαι πόσης ἐστὶ παρανομίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως εἰς τοὺς θεούς; εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις[1] δι' ἀκριβείας· νυνὶ δὲ ὡς τύπῳ πρὸς σὲ γράφω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Τοῖς ἀσελγέσι τούτοις θεάτροις τῶν ἱερέων μηδεὶς μηδαμοῦ παραβαλλέτω μηδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε ἦν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ τῶν θεάτρων, ὥστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθην αὐτὸ προθύμως κατασκευάσαι. νυνὶ δὲ οἰόμενος τοῦτο οὔτε δυνατὸν οὔτε ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν φανείη, συμφέρον ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταύτης μὲν ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας· ἀξιῶ δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας ὑποχωρῆσαι καὶ ἀποστῆναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσελγείας. μηδεὶς οὖν ἱερεὺς εἰς θέατρον εἰσίτω, μηδὲ ἐχέτω[2] φίλον θυμελικὸν μηδὲ ἁρματηλάτην, μηδὲ ὀρχηστὴς μηδὲ μῖμος αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω· τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπιτρέπω μόνον τῷ βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν, ὧν ἀπηγόρευται μετέχειν οὐκ ἀγωνίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέας ταῖς γυναιξίν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν εἴσω τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὡς ἀφεκτέον τούτων ἐστὶν οὐχ ἱερεῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παισὶν ἱερέων;

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως πρὸ τούτων εἰρῆσθαι καλόν, ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως χρὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἀποδεικνύειν· οὐδὲν δὲ ἄτοπον εἰς τοῦτό μοι τοὺς λόγους λῆξαι. ἐγώ

[1] ἔν ἄλλοις Cobet would add; cf. 298 A.
[2] ἐχέτω Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

what lawlessness it is, what arrogance towards the gods for us ourselves when we are not living the priestly life to wear the priestly dress! However, of this too I shall speak more particularly in another place; and what I am writing to you at the moment is only a mere outline of the subject.

No priest must anywhere be present at the licentious theatrical shows of the present day, nor introduce one into his own house; for that is altogether unfitting. Indeed if it were possible to banish such shows absolutely from the theatres so as to restore to Dionysus those theatres pure as of old, I should certainly have endeavoured with all my heart to bring this about; but as it is, since I thought that this is impossible, and that even if it should prove to be possible it would not on other accounts be expedient, I forebore entirely from this ambition. But I do demand that priests should withdraw themselves from the licentiousness of the theatres and leave them to the crowd. Therefore let no priest enter a theatre or have an actor or a chariot-driver for his friend; and let no dancer or mime even approach his door. And as for the sacred games, I permit anyone who will to attend those only in which women are forbidden not only to compete but even to be spectators. With regard to the hunting shows with dogs which are performed in the cities inside the theatres, need I say that not only priests but even the sons of priests must keep away from them?

Now it would perhaps have been well to say earlier from what class of men and by what method priests must be appointed; but it is quite appropriate that my remarks should end with this. I say

φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φιλοθεωτάτους, ἔπειτα φιλανθρωποτάτους, ἐάν τε πένητες ὦσιν ἐάν τε πλούσιοι· διάκρισις ἔστω πρὸς τοῦτο μηδ' ἡτισοῦν ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἐπιφανοῦς· ὁ γὰρ διὰ πραότητα λεληθὼς οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀφάνειαν δίκαιός ἐστι κωλύεσθαι. κἂν πένης οὖν ᾖ τις δημότης ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τό τε φιλόθεον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ἱερεὺς ἀποδεικνύσθω. δεῖγμα δὲ B τοῦ φιλοθέου μέν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δέ, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων εὐκόλως κοινωνεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἂν οἷός τε ᾖ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιητέον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἶμαι συνέβη τοὺς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παρορωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κατανοή- C σαντες ἐπέθεντο ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος[1] τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράτυναν. ὥσπερ γὰρ[2] οἱ τὰ παιδία διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατῶντες τῷ καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς προέσθαι πείθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, εἶθ', ὅταν ἀποστήσωσι πόρρω τῶν οἰκείων, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν ἑξῆς βίον πικρὸν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλίγον

[1] *εὐδοκιμοῦντος* Hertlein suggests, *καλλίστου δοκοῦντος* Reiske, *δοκοῦντος* MSS. [2] *γὰρ* Hertlein would add.

that the most upright men in every city, by preference those who show most love for the gods, and next those who show most love for their fellow men, must be appointed, whether they be poor or rich. And in this matter let there be no distinction whatever whether they are unknown or well known. For the man who by reason of his gentleness has not won notice ought not to be barred by reason of his want of fame. Even though he be poor and a man of the people, if he possess within himself these two things, love for God and love for his fellow men, let him be appointed priest. And a proof of his love for God is his inducing his own people to show reverence to the gods; a proof of his love for his fellows is his sharing cheerfully, even from a small store, with those in need, and his giving willingly thereof, and trying to do good to as many men as he is able.

We must pay especial attention to this point, and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about that the poor were neglected and overlooked by the priests, then I think the impious Galilaeans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices. For just as those who entice children with a cake, and by throwing it to them two or three times induce them to follow them, and then, when they are far away from their friends cast them on board a ship and sell them as slaves, and that which for the moment seemed sweet, proves to be bitter for all the rest of their lives—by the same method, I say, the Galilaeans

γλυκύ, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ D
τῆς λεγομένης παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς
καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ ἔργον,
οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς πολύ· πλείστους
ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα. * * *

also begin with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables,—for they have many ways of carrying it out and hence call it by many names,—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism. . . . .[1]

[1] The conclusion is lost, and may have been suppressed by Christian copyists.

THE CAESARS

INTRODUCTION

The Caesars, otherwise entitled in the MSS. Symposium or Kronia (Latin Saturnalia) was written at Constantinople in 361 and was probably addressed to Sallust, to whom Julian had sent his lost work the Kronia.[1] The interlocutor in the proœmium[2] is almost certainly Sallust.

"Caesar" was in Julian's time a Roman Emperor's most splendid title, and was regularly used by the barbarians when they referred to the Emperor. The idea and the working out of the satire is Lucianic and there are echoes here and there of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead,* but Julian is neither so witty nor so frivolous as Lucian. In speaking of the gods he allows himself a licence which is appropriate to the festival, but would otherwise seem inconsistent with the admonitions addressed to priests in the *Fragment of a Letter.* His conception of the State and of the ideal ruler is Greek rather than Roman.

[1] cf. *Oration* 4. 157 C. [2] 306 A.

ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΚΡΟΝΙΑ

Ἐπειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παίζειν· ἔστι γὰρ Κρόνια· γελοῖον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οἶδα ἐγώ, τὸ μὴ καταγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος ἔοικεν εἶναι ἄξιον, ὦ φιλότης.

Εἶτα τίς οὕτω παχύς ἐστι καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ὥστε καὶ παίζειν πεφροντισμένα; ἐγὼ ᾤμην τὴν παιδιὰν ἄνεσίν τε εἶναι ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν φροντίδων.

Ὀρθῶς γε σὺ τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ B
οὐ ταύτῃ ἔοικεν ἁπαντᾶν τὸ χρῆμα. πέφυκα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτήδειος οὔτε σκώπτειν οὔτε παρῳδεῖν οὔτε γελοιάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρὴ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι ἐν παιδιᾶς μέρει μῦθον διεξέλθω πολλὰ ἴσως ἔχοντα ἀκοῆς ἄξια;

Λέγοις ἂν καὶ μάλα ἀσμένῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς C
οὐκ ἀτιμάζω τοὺς μύθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ἐξελαύνω τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντας, ἀκόλουθά σοί τε καὶ φίλῳ τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ, Πλάτωνι διανοούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐν μύθοις ἐσπούδασται.

THE CAESARS

"It is the season of the Kronia,[1] during which the god allows us to make merry. But, my dear friend, as I have no talent for amusing or entertaining I must methinks take pains not to talk mere nonsense."

"But, Caesar, can there be anyone so dull and stupid as to take pains over his jesting? I always thought that such pleasantries were a relaxation of the mind and a relief from pains and cares."

"Yes, and no doubt your view is correct, but that is not how the matter strikes me. For by nature I have no turn for raillery, or parody, or raising a laugh. But since I must obey the ordinance of the god of the festival, should you like me to relate to you by way of entertainment a myth in which there is perhaps much that is worth hearing?"

"I shall listen with great pleasure, for I too am not one to despise myths, and I am far from rejecting those that have the right tendency; indeed I am of the same opinion as you and your admired, or rather the universally admired, Plato. He also often conveyed a serious lesson in his myths."

[1] Better known by its Latin name Saturnalia. Saturn is the Greek Kronos.

Λέγεις ναὶ μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.

Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μῦθος;

Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὁποίους Αἴσωπος ἐποίη- 307
σεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε πλάσμα λέγοις Ἑρμοῦ· πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθέν σοι φράσω· εἴτε καὶ
τἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει εἴτε μίξις τίς ἐστιν ἀμφοῖν,
αὐτό, φασί,[1] δείξει τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν ἤδη μυθικῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς
ἐξείργασταί σοι τὸ προοίμιον· ἀλλά μοι τὸν
λόγον αὐτόν, ὁποῖός ποτέ ἐστιν, ἤδη διέξελθε.

Μανθάνοις ἄν.

Θύων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει Β
τοὺς θεούς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς[2] τοὺς καίσαρας.
κλῖναι δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμέναι τοῖς μὲν
θεοῖς ἄνω κατ' αὐτό, φασίν, οὐρανοῦ τὸ μετέωρον,

Οὔλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

λέγεται γὰρ μεθ' Ἡρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε
καὶ ὁ Κυρῖνος, ᾧ δὴ χρὴ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὀνόματι,
τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμῃ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς
ἐκεῖσε παρεσκεύαστο τὸ συμπόσιον· ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ C
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρου τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδοκτο
τοὺς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἀνεῖχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἥ τε
τῶν σωμάτων κουφότης, ἅπερ ἐτύγχανον ἠμφιε-
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλῖναι μὲν
οὖν ἔκειντο τέτταρες, εὐτρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις
θεοῖς. ἐβέβνου μὲν ἦν ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου στιλβούσης
καὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῷ μέλανι καὶ θείαν αὐγὴν κρυ-
πτούσης, ὥστε οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἦν ἀντιβλέπειν.

[1] *φασί* Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, *ἐπιδείξει* MSS.
[2] *αὐτοὺς* Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation

"By Zeus, that is true indeed!"

"But what is your myth and of what type?"

"Not one of those old-fashioned ones such as Aesop[1] wrote. But whether you should call mine an invention of Hermes—for it was from him I learned what I am going to tell you—or whether it is really true or a mixture of truth and fiction, the upshot, as the saying is, will decide."

"This is indeed a fine preface that you have composed, just the thing for a myth, not to say an oration! But now pray tell me the tale itself, whatever its type may be."

"Attend."

At the festival of the Kronia Romulus gave a banquet, and invited not only all the gods, but the Emperors as well. For the gods couches had been prepared on high, at the very apex, so to speak, of the sky,[2] on "Olympus where they say is the seat of the gods, unshaken for ever."[3] For we are told that after Heracles, Quirinus also ascended thither, since we must give Romulus the name of Quirinus in obedience to the divine will.[4] For the gods then the banquet had been made ready there. But just below the moon in the upper air he had decided to entertain the Emperors. The lightness of the bodies with which they had been invested, and also the revolution of the moon sustained them. Four couches were there made ready for the superior gods. That of Kronos was made of gleaming ebony, which concealed in its blackness a lustre so intense and divine that no one

[1] *i.e.* not a fable with a moral nor an animal fable.
[2] Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 B.
[3] *Odyssey* 6. 42.
[4] Cf. *Oration* 4. 149 B, 154 D.

ἔπασχε δὲ ταὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἔβενον ἐκείνην τὰ D
ὄμματα δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνος, ὅπερ οἶμαι
πρὸς ἥλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τις ἀτενέστερον
προσβλέπῃ. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἦν ἀργύρου μὲν
στιλπνοτέρα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκοτέρα. τοῦτο εἴτε
ἤλεκτρον χρὴ καλεῖν εἴτε ἄλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ
σφόδρα εἶχέ μοι γνωρίμως ὁ Ἑρμῆς φράσαι.
χρυσοθρόνω δὲ παρ' ἑκάτερον ἐκαθεζέσθην[1] ἥ τε
μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ, Ἥρα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Δία, 308
Ῥέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνον. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος
οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐπεξῄει τῷ λόγῳ, μεῖζον εἶναι λέγων
αὐτὸ καὶ νῷ θεατόν, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν οὔτε
προοισθῆναι ῥᾴδιον οὔτε παραδεχθῆναι δυνατόν.
οὐχ οὕτω τις ἔσται καὶ φανεῖται μεγαλόφωνος,
ὥστε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκεῖνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους,
ὁπόσον ἐπιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὄψει.

Παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἑκάστῳ B
θρόνος ἢ κλίνη κατὰ πρεσβείαν. ἤριζε δὲ οὐδείς,
ἀλλ' ὅπερ Ὅμηρος ὀρθῶς ποιῶν ἔφη, δοκεῖν μοι
παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηκοώς, ἔχειν ἕκαστον
τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις
καθῆσθαι στερεῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως· ἐπεὶ καὶ
πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξανιστάμενοι
ταράττουσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μετα-
βαίνουσιν οὐδὲ ὑφαρπάζουσιν ἀλλήλων, γνωρίζει C
δὲ ἕκαστος τὸ προσῆκον αὐτῷ. πάντων οὖν
κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικῶς
ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλοῦ καὶ νέου καὶ

[1] ἐκαθεζέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθέζετον V., ἐκαθεζέτην MSS.

could endure to gaze thereon. For in looking at that ebony, the eyes suffered as much, methinks, from its excess of radiance as from the sun when one gazes too intently at his disc. The couch of Zeus was more brilliant than silver, but paler than gold; whether however one ought to call this "electron," [1] or to give it some other name, Hermes could not inform me precisely. On either side of these sat on golden thrones the mother and daughter, Hera beside Zeus and Rhea beside Kronos. As for the beauty of the gods, not even Hermes tried to describe it in his tale; he said that it transcended description, and must be comprehended by the eye of the mind; for in words it was hard to portray and impossible to convey to mortal ears. Never indeed will there be or appear an orator so gifted that he could describe such surpassing beauty as shines forth on the countenances of the gods.

For the other gods had been prepared a throne or couch, for everyone according to seniority. Nor did any dispute arise as to this, but as Homer said,[2] and correctly, no doubt instructed by the Muses themselves, every god has his seat on which it is irrevocably ordained that he shall sit, firmly and immovably fixed; and though they rise on the entrance of their father they never confound or change the order of their seats or infringe on one another's, since every one knows his appointed place.

Now when the gods were seated in a circle, Silenus, amorous, methinks, of Dionysus ever fair and

[1] Cf. Martial 8. 51. 5: "Vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo"; it is often uncertain whether electron means amber, or a combination of $\frac{4}{5}$ gold and $\frac{1}{5}$ silver.

[2] This is not in our Homer, but Julian may have in mind *Iliad* 11. 76.

τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Διὶ παραπλησίου πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τροφεύς τις οἷα καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθῆστο, τά τε D ἄλλα φιλοπαίγμονα καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαριτοδότην[1] ὄντα τὸν θεὸν εὐφραίνων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ σκώπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιάζειν.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καισάρων συνεκεκρότητο[2] συμπόσιον, εἰσῄει πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἐρίσαι τῷ Διὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς ὃν ὁ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, Ὅρα, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, μή σε ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοηθῇ. καὶ γάρ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ καλός· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν ἐστι 309 προσόμοιος. παίζοντος ἔτι τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῷ, Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὥσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχριῶν, αὖθις δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γινόμενος, εἶτα μέλας καὶ ζοφώδης καὶ συννεφής· ἀνίετο δ' αὖθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην B καὶ Χάριτας, εἶναί τε ἤθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντώντων[3] ἀντιβλέπειν ἠξίου. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τούτου θηρίου· τί ποτ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται; Παῦσαι, εἶπε, ληρῶν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτῳὶ Ζήνωνι παραδοὺς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἀποφανῶ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' ἴθι, εἶπεν, ὦ C Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητι τοὐμοῦ θρέμματος. ὁ δὲ

[1] χαριτοδότην Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριδότην Hertlein, MSS.
[2] συνεκεκρότητο Hertlein suggests, συνεκροτεῖτο MSS.
[3] ἀπαντώντων Spanheim, πάντων Hertlein, MSS.

ever young, who sat close to Zeus his father, took his seat next to him on the pretext that he had brought him up and was his tutor. And since Dionysus loves jesting and laughter and is the giver of the Graces, Silenus diverted the god with a continual flow of sarcasms and jests, and in other ways besides.

When the banquet had been arranged for the Emperors also, Julius Caesar entered first, and such was his passion for glory that he seemed ready to contend with Zeus himself for dominion. Whereupon Silenus observing him said, "Take care, Zeus, lest this man in his lust for power be minded to rob you of your empire. He is, as you see, tall and handsome, and if he resembles me in nothing else, round about his head he is very like me."[1] While Silenus, to whom the gods paid very little attention, was jesting thus, Octavian entered, changing colour continually, like a chameleon, turning now pale now red; one moment his expression was gloomy, sombre, and overcast, the next he unbent and showed all the charms of Aphrodite and the Graces. Moreover in the glances of his eyes he was fain to resemble mighty Helios, for he preferred that none who approached should be able to meet his gaze.[2] "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Silenus, "what a changeable monster is this! What mischief will he do us?" "Cease trifling," said Apollo, "after I have handed him over to Zeno[3] here, I shall transform him for you straightway to gold without alloy. Come, Zeno," he cried, "take charge of my nursling." Zeno obeyed, and thereupon, by reciting over Octavian a few of his

[1] Silenus is usually represented as bald.
[2] Suetonius, *Augustus* 16.
[3] The Stoic philosopher.

ὑπακούσας, εἶτα ἐπάσας αὐτῷ μικρὰ τῶν δογμάτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς Ζαμόλξιδος ἐπῳδὰς θρυλοῦντες, ἀπέφηνέν ἄνδρα ἔμφρονα καὶ σώφρονα.

Τρίτος ἐπεισέδραμεν αὐτοῖς Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρός, σῶφρόν τε ἅμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὤφθησαν ὠτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρίαι, καυτῆρές τινες καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπαὶ D καὶ μώλωπες ὑπό τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ὠμότητος ψῶραί τινες καὶ λειχῆνες οἷον ἐγκεκαυμέναι. εἶθ' ὁ Σειληνὸς

Ἀλλοῖός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν

εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτόν, Τί δῆτα, εἶπεν, ὦ παππίδιον σπουδάζεις; καὶ ὅς, Ἐξέπληξέ με ὁ γέρων οὑτοσί, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἔφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἐμαυτοῦ τὰς Ὁμηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλά σε, εἶπεν, ἔλξει τῶν ὤτων· 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστήν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώζων μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησυδρίῳ· τὰς Καπρέας αἰνιττόμενος· τὸν ἄθλιον ἁλιέα ψηχέτω. ταῦτα ἔτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται θηρίον πονηρόν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ ὄμματα, κᾆτα αὐτὸν δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἱ δὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς B

doctrines,[1] in the fashion of those who mutter the incantations of Zamolxis,[2] he made him wise and temperate.

The third to hasten in was Tiberius, with countenance solemn and grim, and an expression at once sober and martial. But as he turned to sit down his back was seen to be covered with countless scars, burns, and sores, painful welts and bruises, while ulcers and abscesses were as though branded thereon, the result of his self-indulgent and cruel life.[3] Whereupon Silenus cried out, "Far different, friend, thou appearest now than before,"[4] and seemed more serious than was his wont. "Pray, why so solemn, little father?" said Dionysus. "It was this old satyr," he replied, "he shocked me and made me forget myself and introduce Homer's Muse." "Take care," said Dionysus, "he will pull your ear, as he is said to have done to a certain grammarian."[5] "Plague take him," said Silenus, "in his little island"—he was alluding to Capri—"let him scratch the face of that wretched fisherman."[6] While they were still joking together, there came in a fierce monster.[7] Thereupon all the gods turned away their eyes from the sight, and next moment Justice handed him over to the Avengers who

[1] Julian probably alludes to the influence on Augustus of Athenodorus the Stoic.

[2] A deity among the Thracians, who according to one tradition had been a slave of Pythagoras; cf. Herodotus 4. 94; Plato, *Charmides* 156 D; Julian 8. 244 A.

[3] Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 525 D, E; *Republic* 611 C; Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 6; Lucian, *Cataplus* 27.

[4] *Odyssey* 16. 181; there is a play on the word πάροιθεν which means also "in front."

[5] *i.e.* Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 56, 70.

[6] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 60. [7] Caligula.

Τάρταρον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔσχεν ὁ Σειληνὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσαι. τοῦ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἐπεισελθόντος, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἄρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἱππέας ᾄδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου[1] κολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαύδιον. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρῖνον ἀπιδών, Ἀδικεῖς, εἶπεν, ὦ Κυρῖνε, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἄγων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ' ἴθι, εἶπε, πέμψον ἐπ' ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλει δέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μεσσαλίναν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκείνων δίχα τουτὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, καὶ ἄψυχον. ἐπεισέρχεται λέγοντι τῷ Σειληνῷ Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὗτος, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε αὐτόν, εἶπεν, ἀποστεφανώσω, ὅτι με μὴ πάντα μιμεῖται μηδὲ ἐν οἷς με μιμεῖται γίγνεται μου μιμητὴς δίκαιος. ἀποστεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωκυτὸς εὐθέως ἥρπασεν.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, Βίνδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὄθωνες, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Τούτων, εἶπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμῆνος[2] πόθεν ἐξηυρήκατε, ὦ θεοί; τυφόμεθα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ· φείδεται γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταυτὶ τὰ θηρία. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπιδὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν 311
δείξας, Πέμπε, εἶπε, τὸν σμικρίνην τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταχέως, ἵνα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ· τῶν παίδων δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον

[1] Δήμου Cobet, δήμου Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένους Spanheim. [2] τὸ σμῆνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δῆμον MSS.

hurled him into Tartarus. So Silenus had no chance to say anything about him. But when Claudius came in Silenus began to sing some verses from the *Knights* of Aristophanes,[1] toadying Claudius, as it seemed, instead of Demos. Then he looked at Quirinus and said, "Quirinus, it is not kind of you to invite your descendant to a banquet without his freedmen Narcissus and Pallas.[2] Come," he went on, "send and fetch them, and please send too for his spouse Messalina, for without them this fellow is like a lay-figure in a tragedy, I might almost say lifeless."[3] While Silenus was speaking Nero entered, lyre in hand and wearing a wreath of laurel. Whereupon Silenus turned to Apollo and said, "You see he models himself on you." "I will soon take off that wreath," replied Apollo, "for he does not imitate me in all things, and even when he does he does it badly." Then his wreath was taken off and Cocytus instantly swept him away.

After Nero many Emperors of all sorts came crowding in together, Vindex, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, so that Silenus exclaimed, "Where, ye gods, have ye found such a swarm of monarchs? We are being suffocated with their smoke; for brutes of this sort spare not even the temple of the gods."[4] Then Zeus turned to his brother Serapis, and pointing to Vespasian said, "Send this niggard from Egypt forthwith to extinguish the flames. As for his sons, bid the

[1] *Knights* 1111 foll.

[2] Their riches were proverbial, cf. Juvenal 1. 109; 14. 32.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals* 11. 12; Juvenal 10. 330 foll.

[4] An allusion partly to the smoke of civil war, partly to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline under Vitellius; the temple was restored by Vespasian; Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 81.

μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Σικελικῷ θηρίῳ παραπλησίως κλοιῷ δῆσον. παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τούτοις γέρων ὀφθῆναι καλός· λάμπει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ τὸ κάλλος· ἐντυχεῖν πρᾳότατος, χρηματίσαι δικαιότατος. ἠδέσθη τοῦτον ὁ Σει- B
ληνὸς καὶ ἀπεσιώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἑρμῆς, Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν λέγεις; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, μέμφομαί γε ὑμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος. τῷ γὰρ φονικῷ θηρίῳ τρὶς πέντε νείμαντες ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα μόλις ἐδώκατε τούτῳ βασιλεῦσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμφου, εἶπεν ὁ Ζεύς· εἰσάξω γὰρ C
ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς κἀγαθούς. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ Τραϊανὸς εἰσήρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ τρόπαια, τό τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικόν. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, λανθάνειν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀκούεσθαι βουλόμενος, Ὥρα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Διὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φρουρήσεται.

Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπεισέρχεται βαθεῖαν ἔχων τὴν ὑπήνην ἀνὴρ σοβαρὸς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ D
μουσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἴς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τοῦτον δὲ ἰδὼν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Τί δὲ ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ; μῶν Ἀντίνοον τῇδε περι-
σκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ μειράκιον ἐνθαδὶ καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ λήρου καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὴρ εἰσέρχεται 312
σώφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Βαβαὶ τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἷς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν διαπριόντων τὸ κύμινον ὁ πρεσβύτης οὗτος. ἐπεισελθούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρί-

eldest[1] sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger[2] in the stocks like the Sicilian monster."[3] Next entered an old man,[4] beautiful to behold; for even old age can be radiantly beautiful. Very mild were his manners, most just his dealings. In Silenus he inspired such awe that he fell silent. "What!" said Hermes, "have you nothing to say to us about this man?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "I blame you gods for your unfairness in allowing that blood-thirsty monster to rule for fifteen years, while you granted this man scarce one whole year." "Nay," said Zeus, "do not blame us. For I will bring in many virtuous princes to succeed him." Accordingly Trajan entered forthwith, carrying on his shoulders the trophies of his wars with the Getae and the Parthians. Silenus, when he saw him, said in a whisper which he meant to be heard, "Now is the time for Zeus our master to look out, if he wants to keep Ganymede for himself."

Next entered an austere-looking man[5] with a long beard, an adept in all the arts, but especially music, one who was always gazing at the heavens and prying into hidden things. Silenus when he saw him said, "What think ye of this sophist? Can he be looking here for Antinous? One of you should tell him that the youth is not here, and make him cease from his madness and folly." Thereupon entered a man[6] of temperate character, I do not say in love affairs but in affairs of state. When Silenus caught sight of him he exclaimed, "Bah! Such fussing about trifles! This old man seems to me the sort of person who would split cumin seed."[7]

[1] Titus. [2] Domitian. [3] Phalaris of Agrigentum.
[4] Nerva. [5] Hadrian. [6] Antoninus Pius.
[7] A proverb for niggardliness; cf. Theocritus 10. 50.

δος, Βήρου καὶ Λουκίου, δεινῶς ὁ Σειληνὸς συνεστάλη. παίζειν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπισκώπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βῆρον, καίτοι καὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν ἁμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσῆκεν B ἐπένθησεν, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ κοσμίαν οὖσαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περιεῖδεν, ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαῖον κηδεστήν, ὃς τῶν τε κοινῶν ἂν προύστη κρεῖττον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἂν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ. καίπερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ᾐδεῖτο τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς· τόν γε μὴν υἱέα οὐδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἀφῆκεν· C ἔπιπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν οὐ δυνάμενος ἵστασθαι[1] καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τοῖς ἥρωσιν.

Ἐπεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τὴν σφαγὴν ὀδυρόμενος. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτὸν κατελεήσασα, Ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ τούτων αἴτιοι· καὶ σὺ δέ, ὦ Περτίναξ, ἠδίκεις κοινωνῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἣν ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ D Σεβῆρος, ἀνὴρ πικρίας γέμων καὶ[2] κολαστικός. Ὑπὲρ τούτου δέ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, οὐδὲν λέγω· φοβοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λίαν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀπαραίτητον. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια[3] συνεισιέναι, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Μίνως. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἀφῆκε, τὸν

[1] ἵστασθαι Cobet, ἵπτασθαι Hertlein, MSS.
[2] καὶ before κολαστικός Hertlein suggests.
[3] παιδάρια Cobet, MSS., παιδαρίδια Hertlein, V., m.

Next entered the pair of brothers, Verus[1] and Lucius.[2] Silenus scowled horribly because he could not jeer or scoff at them, especially not at Verus; but he would not ignore his errors of judgment in the case of his son[3] and his wife,[4] in that he mourned the latter beyond what was becoming, especially considering that she was not even a virtuous woman; and he failed to see that his son was ruining the empire as well as himself, and that though Verus had an excellent son-in-law who would have administered the state better, and besides would have managed the youth better than he could manage himself. But though he refused to ignore these errors he reverenced the exalted virtue of Verus. His son however he considered not worth even ridicule and so let him pass. Indeed he fell to earth of his own accord because he could not keep on his feet or accompany the heroes.

Then Pertinax came in to the banquet still bewailing his violent end. But Justice took pity on him and said, "Nay, the authors of this deed shall not long exult. But Pertinax, you too were guilty, since at least so far as conjecture went you were privy to the plot that was aimed at the son of Marcus." Next came Severus, a man of excessively harsh temper and delighting to punish. "Of him," said Silenus, "I have nothing to say, for I am terrified by his forbidding and implacable looks." When his sons would have entered with him, Minos kept them at a distance. However, when he had clearly discerned their characters, he let the younger[5] pass, but sent away the elder[6] to atone

[1] Verus was the family name of Marcus Aurelius.
[2] Lucius Verus. [3] Commodus. [4] Faustina.
[5] Geta. [6] Caracalla.

δὲ πρεσβύτερον τιμωρίαν ἔπεμψε τίσοντα. Μα- 313
κρῖνος ἐνταῦθα φυγὰς μιαιφόνος· εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς
Ἐμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω που τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-
νετο περιβόλων. ὅ γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐν ἐσχάτοις που καθῆστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν
ποτνιώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν
εἶπεν[1] Ὦ μῶρε καὶ μέγα νήπιε, τηλικοῦτος ὢν
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἦρχες τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρήματα δὲ
ἐδίδους τῇ μητρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπείσθης, ὅσῳ κρεῖττον B
ἀναλίσκειν ἦν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἢ θησαυρίζειν.
Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτούς, ὅσοι
μεταίτιοι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους
παραδώσω. καὶ οὕτως ἀνείθη τὸ μειράκιον. ἐπὶ
τούτῳ παρῆλθεν εἴσω Γαλλιῆνος μετὰ τοῦ πα-
τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔχων,
ὁ δὲ στολῇ τε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρᾳ C
ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν
ἐκεῖνον,

Τίς οὗτος ὁ λευκολόφας,
Πρόπαρ ὃς ἡγεῖται στρατοῦ;

ἔφη, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γαλλιῆνον,

Ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντη τρυφᾷ ἠύτε κούρη·

τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπε τῆς ἐκείσε θοίνης ἐκβῆναι.

Τούτοις ἐπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπι- D
δόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἡγάσθησάν τε αὐτὸν τῆς
μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τὴν
ἀρχήν, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίσαντες οὕτω φιλοπάτρι-
δος ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-
μονίᾳ. τούτοις ἐπεισέδραμεν Αὐρηλιανὸς ὥσπερ
ἀποδιδράσκων τοὺς εἴργοντας αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ

[1] εἶπεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεῖπεν MSS.

for his crimes. Next Macrinus, assassin and fugitive, and after him the pretty boy from Emesa[1] were driven far away from the sacred enclosure. But Alexander the Syrian sat down somewhere in the lowest ranks and loudly lamented his fate.[2] Silenus made fun of him and exclaimed, "O fool and madman! Exalted as you were you could not govern your own family, but gave your revenues to your mother:[3] nor could you be persuaded how much better it was to bestow them on your friends than to hoard them." "I however," said Justice, "will consign to torment all who were accessory to his death." And then the youth was left in peace. Next entered Gallienus and his father,[4] the latter still dragging the chains of his captivity, the other with the dress and languishing gait of a woman. Seeing Valerian, Silenus cried, "Who is this with the white plume that leads the army's van?"[5] Then he greeted Gallienus with, "He who is all decked with gold and dainty as a maiden."[6] But Zeus ordered the pair to depart from the feast.

Next came Claudius,[7] at whom all the gods gazed, and admiring his greatness of soul granted the empire to his descendants, since they thought it just that the posterity of such a lover of his country should rule as long as possible. Then Aurelian came rushing in as though trying to escape from those who would detain him before the judgment seat of Minos.

[1] Heliogabalus; cf. *Oration* 4. 150 D, note.
[2] Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.
[3] Mammaea.
[4] Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.
[5] Euripides, *Phoenissae* 120.
[6] Slightly altered from *Iliad* 2. 872.
[7] Cf. *Oration* 1. 6 D.

Μίνωι· πολλαὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, καὶ ἔφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. Ἥλιος δὲ οὑμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ 314
πρός τε τὰ ἄλλα βοηθῶν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτὸ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, Ἀλλ' ἀπέτισε τὴν δίκην, ἣ λέληθεν ἡ δοθεῖσα Δελφοῖς μαντεία

Αἴκε πάθῃ τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο;

Τούτῳ συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, ὃς ἑβδομήκοντα πόλεις ἀναστήσας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἑπτὰ B
καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ σωφρόνως οἰκονομήσας, ἄδικα δὲ πεπονθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων, ἐτιμᾶτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ τοὺς φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτῖσαι. σκώπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ὅμως ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, καίτοι πολλῶν αὐτῷ σιωπᾶν παρακελευομένων· ἀλλ', Ἐᾶτε, ἔφη, νῦν γοῦν δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξῆς φρενωθῆναι. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὦ Πρόβε, ὅτι τὰ πικρὰ C
φάρμακα μιγνύντες οἱ ἰατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσφέρουσι; σὺ δὲ αὐστηρὸς ἦσθα λίαν καὶ τραχὺς ἀεὶ εἴκων τε οὐδαμοῦ· πέπονθας οὖν ἄδικα μέν, εἰκότα δὲ ὅμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε βοῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε ἡμιόνων, ἥκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων, μή τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦντα, ὥσπερ ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ ἰατροὶ μικρὰ ἐνδιδόασιν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν ἔχωσιν αὐτοὺς D
πειθομένους. Τί τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ὦ παππία; φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γάρ, ὦ παῖ,

For many charges of unjustifiable murders were brought against him, and he was in flight because he could ill defend himself against the indictments. But my lord Helios [1] who had assisted him on other occasions, now too came to his aid and declared before the gods, "He has paid the penalty, or have you forgotten the oracle uttered at Delphi, 'If his punishment match his crime justice has been done'?" [2]

With Aurelian entered Probus, who in less than seven years restored seventy cities and was in many ways a wise administrator. Since he had been unjustly treated by impious men the gods paid him honours, and moreover exacted the penalty from his assassins. For all that, Silenus tried to jest at his expense, though many of the gods urged him to be silent. In spite of them he called out, "Now let those that follow him learn wisdom from his example. Probus, do you not know that when physicians give bitter medicines they mix them with honey? [3] But you were always too austere and harsh and never displayed toleration. And so your fate, though unjust, was natural enough. For no one can govern horses or cattle or mules, still less men, unless he sometimes yields to them and gratifies their wishes; just as physicians humour their patients in trifles so that they may make them obey in things more essential." "What now, little father," exclaimed Dionysus, "have you turned up as our philosopher?"

[1] Cf. *Oration* 4. 155 B.

[2] An oracular verse ascribed to Rhadamanthus by Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics* 5. 5. 3; attributed to Hesiod, *Fragments* 150 Goettling; it became a proverb.

[3] Plato, *Laws* 659 E; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 B.

ἔφη, καὶ σὺ φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονας; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐοικὼς ἐμοί, τὰ πρωτεῖα κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηνέγκατο τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τἀδελφῷ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀψευδής; ἔα τοίνυν ἡμᾶς μὴ πάντα γελοῖα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα.

Ἔτι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅ τε 315
Κᾶρος ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν εἰσφρῆσαι βουληθεὶς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ Διοκλητιανός, ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Μαξιμιανώ τε τὼ δύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν. εἶχοντο δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χεῖρε, καὶ ἐβάδιζον οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης, ἀλλ' οἷα χορός τις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, τῶν μὲν ὥσπερ δορυφορούντων καὶ προθεῖν B
αὐτοῦ βουλομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἴργοντος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠξίου πλεονεκτεῖν. ὡς δὲ ξυνίει κάμνοντος ἑαυτοῦ, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα, ὅσα ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, αὐτὸς εὔλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ἠγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολλῶν πάνυ καθῆσθαι. δεινῶς δὲ ὄντα τὸν Μαξιμιανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτειν μὲν οὐκ ἠξίου, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο C
συσσίτιον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἦν παντοίαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσελγής, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγμων καὶ ἄπιστος καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ συνῳδῶν. ἐξήλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως. εἶτα ἀπῆλθεν οὐκ οἶδα ὅποι γῆς· ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ παναρμονίῳ τετραχόρδῳ παραφύεται δεινὸν

"Why, my son," he replied, "did I not make a philosopher of you? Do you not know that Socrates also, who was so like me,[1] carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother[2] tells the truth? So you must allow me to be serious on occasion and not always jocose."

While they were talking, Carus and his sons tried to slip into the banquet, but Justice drove them away. Next Diocletian advanced in pomp, bringing with him the two Maximians and my grandfather Constantius.[3] These latter held one another by the hand and did not walk alongside of Diocletian, but formed a sort of chorus round him. And when they wished to run before him as a bodyguard he prevented them, since he did not think himself entitled to more privileges than they. But when he realised that he was growing weary he gave over to them all the burdens that he carried on his shoulders, and thereafter walked with greater ease. The gods admired their unanimity and permitted them to sit far in front of many of their predecessors. Maximian was so grossly intemperate that Silenus wasted no jests on him, and he was not allowed to join the emperors at their feast. For not only did he indulge in vicious passions of all sorts, but proved meddlesome and disloyal and often introduced discord into that harmonious quartette. Justice therefore banished him without more ado. So he went I know not whither, for I forgot to interrogate Hermes on this point. However into that harmonious symphony of

[1] Cf. Plato, *Symposium* 215; cf. Julian, *Oration* 6. 187 A.

[2] A reference to the oracle of Apollo which declared that Socrates was the wisest man of his times.

[3] Cf. *Oration* 1. 7 A, B.

καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχῶδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν D
δύο οὐδὲ τῶν προθύρων ἅψασθαι τῆς τῶν ἡρώων
ἀγορᾶς ἡ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Λικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν
προθύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημ-
μελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἐξήλασεν. ὁ Κων-
σταντῖνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἴσω καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη
χρόνον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν τὰ παιδία. Μαγνεντίῳ
γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἴσοδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐπεπράχει, 316
καίτοι πολλὰ ἐδόκει πεπρᾶχθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καλά· οἱ
θεοὶ δὲ ὁρῶντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ
πεποίηται διαθέσεως, εἴων αὐτὸν οἰμώζειν ἀπο-
τρέχοντα.

Οὔσης δὴ τοιαύτης τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παρα-
σκευῆς, ἐπόθουν μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ θεοί, πάντα γὰρ
ἔχουσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡρώων ἐδόκει τῷ Ἑρμῇ
διαπειρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης
ἦν. ἐδεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρῖνος ἤδη τινὰ μετάγειν
ἐκεῖθεν παρ' ἑαυτόν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐκ B
ἀνέξομαι, ὦ Κυρῖνε· διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παρεκάλεις; σοῦ
τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἴ τινα τούτων
ἔγνωκας ἄγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἥκειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
κέλευε. τί γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρώ-
μενοι τῷ βελτίονι τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ὁ τῆς
Ἀλκμήνης ἐδόκει τῷ Διί. καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος C
αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οὔτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις
ὑπανίστατο· καταλαβὼν δὲ σχολάζουσαν καθέ-
δραν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπεποίητο ἑαυτῷ,
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν,

four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two[1] so much as to approach the door of that assembly of heroes. As for Licinius, he came as far as the door, but as his misdeeds were many and monstrous Minos forthwith drove him away. Constantine however entered and sat some time, and then came his sons.[2] Magnentius[3] was refused admission because he had never done anything really laudable, though much that he achieved had the appearance of merit. So the gods, who perceived that these achievements were not based on any virtuous principle, sent him packing, to his deep chagrin.

When the feast had been prepared as I have described, the gods lacked nothing, since all things are theirs. Then Hermes proposed to examine the heroes personally and Zeus was of the same mind. Quirinus thereupon begged that he might summon one of their number to his side. "Quirinus," said Heracles, "I will not have it. For why did you not invite to the feast my beloved Alexander also? Zeus, if you are minded to introduce into our presence any of these Emperors, send, I beg of you, for Alexander. For if we are to examine into the merits of men generally, why do we not throw open the competition to the better man?" Zeus considered that what the son of Alcmena said was only just. So Alexander joined the company of heroes, but neither Caesar nor anyone else yielded his place to him. However he found and took a vacant seat which the son[4] of Severus had taken for himself—he had been

[1] *i.e.* the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.
[2] Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.
[3] Cf. *Oration* 1. 31, 33 foll. [4] Caracalla.

ἐνεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων τὸν Κυρῖνον, Ὅρα, εἶπε, μή ποτε οὗτοι ἑνός εἰσιν[1] ἀντάξιοι τουτουὶ τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρῖνος, οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐμοὶ τεθαυμάκασιν ἔγγονοι, ὥστε μόνον αὐτὸν D ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἡγεμόνες ξένοι, ὀνομάζουσι καὶ νομίζουσι μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἴονται μείζονα τοῦτον, ἴσως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας τι παθόντες, ἴσως δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχον· εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρώμενοι. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγων ὁ Κυρῖνος ἠρυθρία, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μή που τὰ δευτερεῖα λαβόντες οἴχωνται.

Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ζεὺς ἤρετο τοὺς θεούς, πότερον 317
χρὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καλεῖν ἤ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλὰς ἀνελομένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἑνὸς περιγενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον δοκεῖ κἀκείνων γεγονέναι κρείσσων, οἳ προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατηθέντος δὲ ἧττους ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ἡ τοιαύτη σφόδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἐξέτασις. ἐκή- B ρυττεν οὖν ὁ Ἑρμῆς παριέναι Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Τραϊανὸν δὲ ἐκ τρίτων, ὡς πολεμικωτάτους. εἶτα γενομένης σιωπῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Δία θαυμάζειν ἔφη, πολεμικοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτονὶ καλουμένους, οὐδένα μέντοι φιλόσοφον. Ἐμοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἧττόν εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι φίλοι. καλεῖτε οὖν εἴσω καὶ τὸν C

[1] ἑνός εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι Naber, ἑνὸς ὦσιν οὐκ ἀντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS. ; V omits οὐκ.

expelled for fratricide. Then Silenus began to rally Quirinus and said, "See now whether all these Romans can match this one Greek."[1] "By Zeus," retorted Quirinus, "I consider that many of them are as good as he! It is true that my descendants have admired him so much that they hold that he alone of all foreign generals is worthy to be styled 'the Great.' But it does not follow that they think him greater than their own heroes; which may be due to national prejudice, but again they may be right. However, that we shall very soon find out by examining these men." Even as he spoke Quirinus was blushing, and was evidently extremely anxious on behalf of his descendants and feared that they might come off with the second prize.

Then Zeus asked the gods whether it would be better to summon all the Emperors to enter the lists, or whether they should follow the custom of athletic contests, which is that he who defeats the winner of many victories, though he overcome only that one competitor is held thereby to have proved himself superior to all who have been previously defeated, and that too though they have not wrestled with the winner, but only shown themselves inferior to an antagonist who has been defeated. All the gods agreed that this was a very suitable sort of test. Hermes then summoned Caesar to appear before them, then Octavian, and thirdly Trajan, as being the greatest warriors. In the silence that followed, Kronos turned to Zeus and said that he was astonished to see that only martial Emperors were summoned to the competition, and not a single philosopher. "For my part," he added, "I like philosophers just as well.

[1] Cf. Plato, *Laws* 730 D; Julian, *Misopogon* 353 D.

Μάρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθεὶς παρῆλθε, σεμνὸς ἄγαν, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τά τε ὄμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπό τι συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ δεικνύων, ἐν ᾧ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ἄκομψον καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον· ἥ τε γὰρ ὑπήνη βαθεῖα παντάπασιν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια λιτὰ καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν τροφῶν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διαυγέστατον καὶ D διαφανέστατον ὥσπερ αὐτὸ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον φῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ἦν εἴσω τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διόνυσος εἶπεν, Ὦ βασιλεῦ Κρόνε καὶ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἆρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοῖς ἀτελὲς εἶναί τι; τῶν δὲ οὐ φαμένων, Εἰσάγωμεν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐραστὴν ἐνθαδί. καὶ ὁ Ζεύς, Ἀλλ' οὐ θεμιτὸν εἴσω φοιτᾶν, εἶπεν, ἀνδρὶ μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα ζηλοῦντι. Γιγνέσθω τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διόνυσος, αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις. ἀλλ', εἰ τοῦτο δοκεῖ ταύτῃ, καλῶμεν 318
ἄνδρα οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μέν, ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει χειροηθέστερον. ἡκέτω οὖν ἄχρι τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο καὶ τοῦτο, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, γνώμη προυτέθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς ἠξίου λέγειν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψῆφον. οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει ταῦτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανό- B
τητος οὐδ' αἰμυλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἐξέτασιν. βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἅμα προάγειν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτοῖς τὴν συνουσίαν, Οὐδέν, εἶπε, κωλύει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι, μικρὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἶτα ὕστερον

So tell Marcus[1] to come in too." Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and unadorned by art; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was very shining and transparent, like light most pure and stainless. When he too had entered the sacred enclosure, Dionysus said, "King Kronos and Father Zeus, can any incompleteness exist among the gods?" And when they replied that it could not, "Then," said he, "let us bring in here some votary of pleasure as well." "Nay," answered Zeus, "it is not permitted that any man should enter here who does not model himself on us." "In that case," said Dionysus, "let them be tried at the entrance. Let us summon by your leave a man not unwarlike but a slave to pleasure and enjoyment. Let Constantine come as far as the door." When this had been agreed upon, opinions were offered as to the manner in which they were to compete. Hermes thought that everyone ought to speak for himself in turn, and then the gods should vote. But Apollo did not approve of this plan, because he said the gods ought to test and examine the truth and not plausible rhetoric and the devices of the orator. Zeus wished to please them both and at the same time to prolong the assembly, so he said, "There is no harm in letting them speak if we measure them a small allowance of water,[2] and then later on we can

[1] Marcus Aurelius.
[2] A reference to the water-clock, *clepsydra*.

ἀνερωτᾶν καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἑκάστου διανοίας. C
καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων, Ἀλλ' ὅπως μή, νομί-
σαντες αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραϊανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ἅπαν ἐκροφήσουσι[1] τὸ ὕδωρ, εἶτα ἀφελοῦνται[2]
τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν, Οὐ τοὐμοῦ ὕδατος,
εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πώματος ἐρασταὶ τὼ
ἄνδρε ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιγαροῦν D
ἀμπέλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν πηγῶν ἄξιόν ἐστί
σοι δεδιέναι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς δηχθεὶς ἐσιώπα, καὶ
τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐκ τούτου τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν.
Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐκήρυττεν·

Ἄρχει μὲν ἀγὼν
τῶν καλλίστων
ἄθλων ταμίας,
καιρὸς δὲ καλεῖ
μηκέτι μέλλειν.
ἀλλὰ κλύοντες
τὰν ἀμετέραν
κήρυκα βοὰν 319
οἱ πρὶν βασιλῆς,
ἔθνεα πολλὰ
δουλωσάμενοι
καὶ πολέμοισι
δάιον ἔγχος
θήξαντες, ὁμοῦ
γνώμης τε μέγαν
πινυτόφρονα νοῦν,
ἴτ', ἐς ἀντίπαλον
ἵστασθε κρίσιν, B

[1] ἐκροφήσουσι Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφήσωσι MSS.
[2] ἀφελοῦνται Hertlein suggests, ἀφέλωνται MSS.

cross-examine them and test the disposition of each one." Whereupon Silenus said sardonically, "Take care, or Trajan and Alexander will think it is nectar and drink up all the water and leave none for the others." "It was not my water," retorted Poseidon, "but your vines that these two were fond of. So you had better tremble for your vines rather than for my springs." Silenus was greatly piqued and had no answer ready, but thereafter turned his attention to the disputants.

Then Hermes made this proclamation:

"The trial that begins
Awards to him who wins
The fairest prize to-day.
And lo, the hour is here
And summons you. Appear!
Ye may no more delay.
Come hear the herald's call
Ye princes one and all.
Many the tribes of men
Submissive to you then!
How keen in war your swords!
But now 'tis wisdom's turn;
Now let your rivals learn
How keen can be your words.

οἷς τε φρόνησιν
τέλος ὀλβίστης
θέσθαι βιοτῆς,
οἷς τ' ἀντιβίους
κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρξαι
καὶ χρηστὰ φίλους
τέκμαρ βιότου
νενόμιστο καλοῦ,
οἷς θ' ἡδίστην
ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχειν
τέρματα μόχθων C
δαιτάς τε γάμους τ',
ὄμμασι τερπνά,
μαλακάς τε φέρειν
ἐσθῆτας ὁμοῦ
λιθοκολλήτοις
περὶ χεῖρας ἄκρας
ψελίοισι φάνη
μακαριστότατον.
νίκης δὲ τέλος
Ζηνὶ μελήσει.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο· D
καί πως συνέδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλῆρος
φιλοπρωτίᾳ. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐποίησε γαῦρον
καὶ σοβαρώτερον· ἐδέησε δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ
φεύγειν τὴν κρίσιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· ἀλλὰ παρα-
θαρρύνων αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχε. δεύ-
τερος δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ λέγειν ἔλαχεν Ἀλέξανδρος·
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑξῆς οἱ κλῆροι τοῖς ἑκάστου χρόνοις 320
συμπροῆλθον. ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδί· Ἐμοὶ
μέν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτῃ

Wisdom, thought some, is bliss
Most sure in life's short span;
Others did hold no less
That power to ban or bless
Is happiness for man.
But some set Pleasure high,
Idleness, feasting, love,
All that delights the eye;
Their raiment soft and fine,
Their hands with jewels shine,
Such bliss did they approve.
But whose the victory won
Shall Zeus decide alone." [1]

While Hermes had been making this proclamation the lots were being drawn, and it happened that the first lot favoured Caesar's passion for being first. This made him triumphant and prouder than before. But the effect on Alexander was that he almost withdrew from the competition, had not mighty Heracles encouraged him and prevented him from leaving. Alexander drew the lot to speak second, but the lots of those who came next coincided with the order in which they had lived. Caesar then began as follows: "It was my fortune, O Zeus and ye

[1] In this doggerel made up of tags of anapaestic verse, Julian reproduces in the first five and last two verses the proclamation made at the Olympic games. The first three verses occur in Lucian, *Demonax* 65.

συνέβη πόλει μετὰ τοσούτους ἄνδρας, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ὅσων οὐ πώποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευσε βασιλεύειν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητὸν τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κομίσασθαι. τίς γὰρ πόλις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις B ἐπὶ γῆς ἦλθε πέρατα τοῖς ὅπλοις; ποῖα δὲ ἔθνη τοσούτους ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς τε καὶ πολεμικοὺς παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικούς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὴ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ πόλει γενόμενος οὐ τοὺς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πώποτε παρῆλθον τοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν μὲν πολιτῶν εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντιποιήσεταί μοι τῶν πρωτείων· εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὑτοσὶ C τολμᾷ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀξιοῖ παραβαλεῖν; ἴσως τὰ Περσικά, ὥσπερ οὐχ ἑορακὼς ἐγηγερμένα μοι τοσαῦτα κατὰ Πομπηίου τρόπαια; καίτοι τίς δεινότερος στρατηγὸς γέγονε, Δαρεῖος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἀνδρειότερον ἠκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμώτατα τῶν Δαρείῳ πρότερον ὑπακουόντων ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ D Καρῶν μοίρᾳ Πομπήιος εἶχεν ἑπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, οἳ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον ἐπάγουσαν ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους, Ἰταλούς, Ἰλλυριούς, Κελτούς. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἆρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς ἔργοις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάττομεν καθαίρεσιν; οὗτος ἅπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥῆνον· Γερμανικὸν αὖ τοῦτο τὸ ἐμὸν ἔργον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν

other gods, to be born, following a number of great men, in a city so illustrious that she rules more subjects than any other city has ever ruled; and indeed other cities are well pleased to rank as second to her.[1] What other city, I ask, began with three thousand citizens and in less than six centuries carried her victorious arms to the ends of the earth? What other nations ever produced so many brave and warlike men or such lawgivers? What nation ever honoured the gods as they did? Observe then that, though I was born in a city so powerful and so illustrious, my achievements not only surpassed the men of my own day, but all the heroes who ever lived. As for my fellow-citizens I am confident that there is none who will challenge my superiority. But if Alexander here is so presumptuous, which of his deeds does he pretend to compare with mine? His Persian conquests, perhaps, as though he had never seen all those trophies that I gathered when I defeated Pompey! And pray, who was the more skilful general, Darius or Pompey? Which of them led the bravest troops? Pompey had in his army the most martial of the nations formerly subject to Darius,[2] but he reckoned them no better than Carians,[3] for he led also those European forces which had often repulsed all Asia when she invaded Europe, aye and he had the bravest of them all, Italians, Illyrians, and Celts. And since I have mentioned the Celts, shall we compare the exploits of Alexander against the Getae with my conquest of Gaul? He crossed the Danube once, I crossed the Rhine twice. The German conquest again is all my doing. No one opposed Alexander, but I had to

[1] Cf. *Oration* 1. 8 c. [2] Darius III. [3] Cf. *Oration* 2. 56 c.

οὐδὲ εἷς, ἐγὼ πρὸς Ἀριόβιστον ἠγωνισάμην. 321
πρῶτος ἐτόλμησα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐκτὸς
θαλάσσης. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἴσως τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-
μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τόλμαν καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον
θαυμάσαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ μεῖζόν μου, τὸ ἀποβῆναι τῆς
νεὼς πρῶτον· καὶ τοὺς Ἑλβετίους σιωπῶ καὶ τὸ
τῶν Ἰβήρων ἔθνος. οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν Γαλατικῶν
ἐπεμνήσθην, πλεῖν[1] ἢ τριακοσίας ὑπαγαγόμενος
πόλεις, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ διακοσίας
μυριάδας. ὄντων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργων,
ἐκεῖνο μεῖζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἐχρῆν γάρ B
με καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας
καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀμάχων καὶ ἀνικήτων Ῥωμαίων.
εἴτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρὶς
τοσαυτάκις παρεταξάμην, ὁσάκις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου κομπάζουσιν οἱ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνο-
ποιοῦντες, εἴτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ
τῆς Ἀσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ C
πλεῖστα κατεστρεψάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἴγυπτον
ἐπῆλθε[2] θεωρῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ συμπόσια συγκροτῶν
κατεπολέμησα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι πραό-
τητα βούλεσθε ἐξετάσαι τὴν παρ' ἑκατέρῳ; ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέγνων· ἔπαθον γοῦν ὑπ'
αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκῃ· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς
πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. ἔτι οὖν D
μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἷός τε ἔσῃ;
καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν
ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέγειν, ὅπως σὺ μὲν
ἐχρήσω πικρῶς Θηβαίοις, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλβετίοις

[1] πλεῖν Cobet, πλέον Hertlein, MSS.
[2] ἐπῆλθε Hertlein suggests, περιῆλθε Cobet, παρῆλθε MSS.

contend against Ariovistus. I was the first Roman who ventured to sail the outer sea.[1] Perhaps this achievement was not so wonderful, though it was a daring deed that may well command your admiration; but a more glorious action of mine was when I leapt ashore from my ship before all the others.[2] Of the Helvetians and Iberians I say nothing. And still I have said not a word about my campaigns in Gaul, when I conquered more than three hundred cities and no less than two million men! But great as were these achievements of mine, that which followed was still greater and more daring. For I had to contend against my fellow citizens themselves, and to subdue the invincible, the unconquerable Romans. Again, if we are judged by the number of our battles, I fought three times as many as Alexander, even reckoning by the boasts of those who embellish his exploits. If one counts the cities captured, I reduced the greatest number, not only in Asia but in Europe as well. Alexander only visited Egypt as a sight-seer, but I conquered her while I was arranging drinking-parties. Are you pleased to inquire which of us showed more clemency after victory? I forgave even my enemies, and for what I suffered in consequence at their hands Justice has taken vengeance. But Alexander did not even spare his friends, much less his enemies. And are you still capable of disputing the first prize with me? Then since you will not, like the others, yield place to me, you compel me to say that whereas I was humane towards the Helvetians you treated the Thebans

[1] The "inner" sea was the Mediterranean.

[2] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4. 25, ascribes this to the standard-bearer of the tenth legion.

φιλανθρώπως; σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πολιτῶν κεκαυμένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καίτοι οὔτι ταὐτὸν[1] ἦν μυρίων Γραικῶν κρατῆσαι καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστῆναι. πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἔχων 322
ἔτι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦδε, τῷ μὴ σχολὴν ἄγειν ἥκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἐξεμελέτησα. διόπερ χρὴ συγγνώμην ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ῥηθέντων τὴν ἴσην καὶ δικαίαν ἐξέτασιν ποιουμένους ἀποδιδόναι μοι τὸ πρωτεῖον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι βουλομένου, μόγις καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ μετά τινος ταραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ B
θεοί, μέχρι τίνος ἀνέξομαι σιωπῇ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαίνων οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ βλασφημιῶν. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἴσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν φείδεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἶναί πως ἀμφότερα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῆ· πλέον δὲ τοῦ τἀμὰ διασύρειν ἄλλως τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἀναισχυντίας, ὥστε τολμῆσαι C
τὰ ἀρχέτυπα κωμῳδεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων. ἐχρῆν δέ, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ὑπομνησθῆναί σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἃ τότε ἀφῆκας, ἀκροώμενος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὅσα πεποίηται περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων. ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπῆρέ σε μετὰ τοῦτο, κολακευθεὶς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, γενόμενος δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ D
ἀπὸ Λιβύης θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐ μέγα ἔργον,

[1] *οὔτι ταὐτὸν* Hertlein suggests, *τί τοσοῦτον* MSS.

cruelly. You burned their cities to the ground, but I restored the cities that had been burned by their own inhabitants. And indeed it was not at all the same thing to subdue ten thousand Greeks, and to withstand the onset of a hundred and fifty thousand men. Much more could I add both about myself and Alexander, but I have not had leisure to practise public speaking. Wherefore you ought to pardon me, but from what I have said and with regard to what I have not said, you ought, forming that decision which equity and justice require, to award me the first prize."

When Caesar had spoken to this effect he still wished to go on talking, but Alexander, who had with difficulty restrained himself hitherto, now lost patience, and with some agitation and combativeness: "But *I*," said he, "O Jupiter and ye other gods, how long must I endure in silence the insolence of this man? There is, as you see, no limit to his praise of himself or his abuse of me. It would have better become him perhaps to refrain from both, since both are alike insupportable, but especially from disparaging my conduct, the more since he imitated it. But he has arrived at such a pitch of impudence that he dares to ridicule the model of his own exploits. Nay, Caesar, you ought to have remembered those tears you shed on hearing of the monuments that had been consecrated to my glorious deeds.[1] But since then Pompey has inflated you with pride, Pompey who though he was the idol of his countrymen was in fact wholly insignificant. Take his African triumph: that was no great exploit, but the feeble-

[1] At Gades, on seeing a statue of Alexander; cf. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 7.

ὀνομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἡ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων μαλακία. τὸν δουλικὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο, Κράσσοι καὶ Λούκιοι, τοὔνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔσχε Πομπήιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσοικα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Λούκουλλος, ἐθριάμβευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων Πομπήιος. εἶτ' ἐκολάκευσαν 323
αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται καὶ Μέγαν ὠνόμασαν, ὄντα τίνος τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ μείζονα; τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοσοῦτον ἐπράχθη, ἡλίκον Μαρίῳ ἢ Σκηπίωσι τοῖς δύο ἢ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρῖνον τουτονὶ Φουρίῳ, ὃς μικροῦ συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτου πόλιν ἀνέστησεν; οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔργοις, ὥσπερ ἐν πολιτικαῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ' ἄλλων καταβληθείσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθείσαις ἕτε- B
ρος ἄρχων ἐπεγράφη μικρὰ κονιάσας τὸν τοῖχον, οὕτω ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐπεγράφησαν πράξεσιν· ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημιουργοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν καλλίστων ἠξιώθησαν ὀνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπηίου δακτύλῳ κνωμένου καὶ τἆλλα ἀλώπεκος μᾶλλον ἢ λέοντος.

ness of the consuls in office made it seem glorious. Then the famous Servile War [1] was waged not against men but the vilest of slaves, and its successful issue was due to others, I mean Crassus and Lucius,[2] though Pompey gained the reputation and the credit for it. Again, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces were conquered by Lucullus,[3] yet for these also Pompey triumphed. Then he became the idol of the citizens and they called him 'the Great.' Greater, I ask, than whom of his predecessors? What achievement of his can be compared with those of Marius [4] or of the two Scipios or of Furius,[5] who sits over there by Quirinus because he rebuilt his city when it was almost in ruins? Those men did not make their reputation at the expense of others, as happens with public buildings built at the public expense; I mean that one man lays the foundation, another finishes the work, while the last man who is in office though he has only whitewashed the walls has his name inscribed on the building.[6] Not thus, I repeat, did those men gain credit for the deeds of others. They were themselves the creators and artificers of their schemes and deserved their illustrious titles. Well then, it is no wonder that you vanquished Pompey, who used to scratch his head with his finger-tip [7] and in all respects was more of a

[1] Led by Spartacus 73–71 B.C.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 116–120. [2] Lucius Gellius; Plutarch, *Crassus*.

[3] Licinius Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates.

[4] Caius Marius the rival of Sulla.

[5] Furius Camillus repulsed the Gauls 390 B.C.; cf. *Oration* 1. 29 D. [6] Cf. *Letter to Themistius*, 267 B.

[7] A proverb for effeminacy; cf. Plutarch, *Pompeius* 48; Juvenal 9. 133, *qui digito scalpunt uno caput*; Lucian, *The Rhetorician's Guide* 11.

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ τύχη προύδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστήκει, ταχέως ἐκράτησας μόνου. καὶ ὅτι δεινότητι μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ κρείττων ἐγένου, φανερόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ C
γεγονὼς[1] τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἔστι δὲ οὐ μικρόν, ὡς οἶσθα, τοῦτο ἁμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ· καὶ μάχῃ συμβαλὼν ἡττήθης. εἰ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε, ἡνίκα ἔδει τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπερετίθετο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ[2] νικῶν ἐπεξῄει, ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἐσφάλη στρατηγήμασι. D

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀλκὴν ἐνέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τοῦ πράττειν ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἄνδρα ἄριστον καὶ βασιλέα προσήκει μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπῄτησα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανειλόμην, οὐχὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κωλύοντάς με διαβαίνειν καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτεῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἐπικόπτων. σὺ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ 324
Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν σεαυτοῦ παρασκευαζόμενος, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν χεῖρον ἢ μιαρώτερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ διασύρων τῶν μυρίων ἐμνημόνευσας Γραικῶν, ὅτι μὲν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐντεῦθεν γεγόνατε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ᾤκησαν οἱ Γραικοί, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅμως οὐ παραδέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον ἔθνος, Αἰτωλοὺς

[1] γεγονὼς Petavius, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.
[2] τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. *Oration* i. 59 D.

fox than a lion. When he was deserted by Fortune who had so long favoured him, you easily overcame him, thus unaided. And it is evident that it was not to any superior ability of yours that you owed your victory, since after running short of provisions[1]—no small blunder for a general to make, as I need not tell you—you fought a battle and were beaten. And if from imprudence or lack of judgment or inability to control his countrymen Pompey neither postponed a battle when it was his interest to protract the war, nor followed up a victory when he had won,[2] it was due to his own errors that he failed, and not to your strategy.

The Persians, on the contrary, though on all occasions they were well and wisely equipped, had to submit to my valour. And since it becomes a virtuous man and a king to pride himself not merely on his exploits but also on the justice of those exploits, it was on behalf of the Greeks that I took vengeance on the Persians, and when I made war on the Greeks it was not because I wished to injure Greece, but only to chastise those who tried to prevent me from marching through and from calling the Persians to account. You, however, while you subdued the Germans and Gauls were preparing to fight against your fatherland. What could be worse or more infamous? And since you have alluded as though insultingly to 'ten thousand Greeks,' I am aware that you Romans are yourselves descended from the Greeks, and that the greater part of Italy was colonised by Greeks; however on that fact I do not insist. But at any rate did not you Romans think it very important to have

[1] At Dyrrhachium; Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*.
[2] An echo of Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 206 D.

λέγω τοὺς παροικοῦντας ἡμῖν, οὐ φίλους μὲν B
ἔχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποιήσασθε περὶ πολλοῦ,
πολεμωθέντας δὲ ὑμῖν ὕστερον δι' ἀσδήποτε
αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακούειν ὑμῖν ἠναγκάσατε;
οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς
Ἑλλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἀλλ' ἔθνους μικροῦ,
ἡνίκα ἤκμαζε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστι
γιγνωσκομένου, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, μόγις ἀρκέ-
σαντες, τίνες ἂν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C
καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας πολεμεῖν ὑμᾶς
ἐδέησεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρου διαβάντος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
ἴστε ὅπως ἐπτήξατε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατῆσαι
μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον διασύρεις,
ὀλίγης πάνυ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν
ὑπὸ Παρθυαίων βασιλευομένης χώρας, ἔτη πλέον
ἢ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν
οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; βούλει σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν D
ὑμᾶς εἶρξε βέλη. φρασάτω δέ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν
Ἀντώνιος[1] ὁ παιδοτριβηθεὶς ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ παρὰ
σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς δέκα πρὸς
τούτοις καὶ Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἶτ' ἐμοὶ
τολμᾷς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὃς ἐκ παιδαρίου στρατηγῶν
ἔργα ἔπραξα τηλικαῦτα, ὥστε τὴν μνήμην, καίπερ
οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑμνηθέντων,
ὅμως[2] συμπαραμένειν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325
τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τοὐμοῦ βασιλέως, οὗ θεράπων
ἐγὼ καὶ ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην, Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἀμιλ-
λώμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Ἡρακλέα δὲ θαυμάζων
καὶ ἑπόμενος, ἅτε δὴ κατ' ἴχνος θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος.

[1] Ἀντώνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.
[2] ὅμως Cobet, ὅμως δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

as friends and allies one insignificant tribe of those very Greeks, I mean the Aetolians, my neighbours? And later, when you had gone to war with them for whatever reason, did you not have great trouble in making them obey you? Well then, if in the old age, as one may say, of Greece, you were barely able to reduce not the whole nation but an insignificant state which was hardly heard of when Greece was in her prime, what would have happened to you if you had had to contend against the Greeks when they were in full vigour and united? You know how cowed you were when Pyrrhus crossed to invade you. And if you think the conquest of Persia such a trifle and disparage an achievement so glorious, tell me why, after a war of more than three hundred years, you Romans have never conquered a small province beyond the Tigris which is still governed by the Parthians? Shall I tell you why? It was the arrows of the Persians that checked you. Ask Antony to give you an account of them, since he was trained for war by you. I, on the other hand, in less than ten years conquered not only Persia but India too. After that do you dare to dispute the prize with me, who from childhood have commanded armies, whose exploits have been so glorious that the memory of them—though they have not been worthily recounted by historians—will nevertheless live for ever, like those of the Invincible Hero,[1] my king, whose follower I was, on whom I modelled myself? Achilles my ancestor I strove to rival, but Heracles I ever admired and followed, so far as a mere man may follow in the footsteps of a god.

[1] Heracles.

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐχρῆν, ὦ θεοί, πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπολογήσασθαι· καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ· εἴρηται. εἰ δέ τι πικρὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν B ἐπράχθη, οὔτι παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἢ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς προσκρούσαντας ἢ τῷ καιρῷ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πρεπόντως χρησαμένους, ἠκολούθησε γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαμαρτηθεῖσιν ἡ μεταμέλεια, σώφρων πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἐξημαρτηκότων σώτειρα δαίμων, τοὺς δὲ ὥσπερ φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπὶ C τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν οὐδὲν ᾤμην ἄδικον ποιεῖν κολάζων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴρητο καὶ τούτῳ στρατιωτικώτερον ὁ λόγος, ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν τὴν ὑδρίαν ἔφερεν ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θεράπων, ἐπιμετρῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔλασσον διὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μνησικακῶν αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. καὶ ὃς ἐπειδὴ συνῆκεν ὑπὸ ἀγχινοίας, D ἀφεὶς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖν ἀφέξομαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τὸν πάντα ποιήσομαι λόγον. νέος προύστην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατώρθωσα δὲ Γερμανικοὺς πολέμους ὥσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ οὑτοσὶ Καῖσαρ. 326 συμπλακεὶς δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀγῶσιν Αἴγυπτον μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον κατεναυμάχησα, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολέμησα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα Σέξτον πάρεργον

"Thus much, ye gods, I was bound to say in my own defence against this man; though indeed it would have been better to ignore him. And if some things I did seemed cruel, I never was so to the innocent, but only to those who had often and in many ways thwarted me and had made no proper or fitting use of their opportunities. And even my offences against these, which were due to the emergency of the time, were followed by Remorse, that very wise and divine preserver of men who have erred. As for those whose ambition it was to show their enmity continually and to thwart me, I considered that I was justified in chastising them.'

When Alexander in his turn had made his speech in martial fashion, Poseidon's attendant carried the water-clock to Octavian, but gave him a smaller allowance of water, partly because time was precious, but still more because he bore him a grudge for the disrespect he had shown to the god.[1] Octavian with his usual sagacity understood this, so without stopping to say anything that did not concern himself, he began: "For my part, Zeus and ye other gods, I shall not stay to disparage and belittle the actions of others, but shall speak only of what concerns myself. Like the noble Alexander here I was but a youth when I was called to govern my country. Like Caesar yonder, my father,[2] I conducted successful campaigns against the Germans. When I became involved in civil dissensions I conquered Egypt in a sea-fight off Actium; I defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi: the defeat of Sextus, Pompey's son, was a mere

[1] Suetonius, *Augustus* 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.

[2] Augustus was Julius Caesar's nephew, and his son only by adoption.

ἐθέμην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας. οὕτω δὲ παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροήθη, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνοδώρου παρρησίας ἠνεσχόμην, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐφραινόμενος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα B καθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδούμενος. Ἄρειον δὲ καὶ φίλον καὶ συμβιωτὴν ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἁμαρτηθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρῶν εἰς τὸν[1] ἔσχατον ἐλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὕτω διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτήν, ὥστε εἶναι, εἰ μὴ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ θεοί, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντίνην. οὐ γὰρ C ταῖς ἀμέτροις ἐπιθυμίαις εἴκων ἐπικτᾶσθαι πάντως αὐτῇ διενοήθην, ὅρια δὲ διττά, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα,[2] Ἴστρον καὶ Εὐφράτην ποταμοὺς ἐθέμην. εἶτα ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμετρούντων ὑμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τὸν χρόνον, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου περιεσκόπουν, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθεσίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τὴν D σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χεῖρον βεβουλεῦσθαι, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ θαρρήσαντα φάναι, κρεῖσσον τῶν πώποτε τηλικαύτας ἡγεμονίας ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς στρατηγίαις ἐναπέθανον, ἐξὸν λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν[3] καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ φιλοπράγμονες δίκας κατασκευάζοντες· οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμούμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ 327 προσεῖχον, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τὴν

[1] τὸν Hertlein would add.
[2] ἀποδεδειγμένα Cobet, ἀποδεδομένα Hertlein, MSS.
[3] ἡσυχάζειν Reiske adds.

incident in my campaign. I showed myself so gentle to the guidance of philosophy that I even put up with the plain speaking of Athenodorus,[1] and instead of resenting it I was delighted with it and revered the man as my preceptor, or rather as though he were my own father. Areius [2] I counted my friend and close companion, and in short I was never guilty of any offence against philosophy. But since I saw that more than once Rome had been brought to the verge of ruin by internal quarrels, I so administered her affairs as to make her strong as adamant for all time, unless indeed, O ye gods, you will otherwise. For I did not give way to boundless ambition and aim at enlarging her empire at all costs, but assigned for it two boundaries defined as it were by nature herself, the Danube and the Euphrates. Then after conquering the Scythians and Thracians I did not employ the long reign that you gods vouchsafed me in making projects for war after war, but devoted my leisure to legislation and to reforming the evils that war had caused. For in this I thought that I was no less well advised than my predecessors, or rather, if I may make bold to say so, I was better advised than any who have ever administered so great an empire. For some of these, when they might have remained quiet and not taken the field, kept making one war an excuse for the next, like quarrelsome people and their lawsuits; and so they perished in their campaigns. Others when they had a war on their hands gave themselves up to indulgence,

[1] A Stoic philosopher; cf. pseudo-Lucian, *Long Lives* 21. 23; Suetonius, *Augustus*; *Dio Chrysostom* 33. 48.

[2] *Letter* 51. 434 A; *Letter to Themistius* 265 C; Themistius 63 D.

αἰσχρὰν τρυφὴν προτιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἀξιῶ τῆς χείρονος ἐμαυτὸν μερίδος· ὅ, τι δ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὦ θεοί, φαίνηται, τοῦτο εἰκός ἐστιν ἐμὲ δήπουθεν στέργειν.

Δίδοται μετὰ τοῦτον τῷ Τραϊανῷ τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσία. ὁ δέ, καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας· ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ B Σούρᾳ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς τό τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ᾐτιᾶτο δὲ τὸ γῆρας ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ', ὦ μάταιε, ἔφη, εἴκοσι βεβασίλευκας ἔτη, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὑτοσὶ δώδεκα. τί οὖν ἀφεὶς αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφὴν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφῃ στενότητα; παρ- οξυνθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκώμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν C ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ῥητορεύειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοποσίας ἀμβλύτερος ἑαυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν ναρκῶσαν ὥσπερ καὶ διαλελυμένην ὑπό τε τῆς οἴκοι πολὺν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὕβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴστρον D ἐτόλμησα προσλαβεῖν ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐξεῖλον, οἳ τῶν πώποτε μαχιμώτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς Ζάμολξις. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες ἑτοιμότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι[1] τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράχθη δέ μοι τὸ

[1] ἄλλοι Reiske adds.

and preferred such base indulgence not only to future glory but even to their personal safety. When I reflect on all this I do not think myself entitled to the lowest place. But whatever shall seem good to you, O ye gods, it surely becomes me to accept with a good grace."

Trajan was allowed to speak next. Though he had some talent for oratory he was so lazy that he had been in the habit of letting Sura write most of his speeches for him; so he shouted rather than spoke, and meanwhile displayed to the gods his Getic and Parthian trophies, while he accused his old age of not having allowed him to extend his Parthian conquests. "You cannot take us in," said Silenus; "you reigned twenty years and Alexander here only twelve. Why then do you not put it down to your own love of ease, instead of complaining of your short allowance of time?" Stung by the taunt, since he was not deficient in eloquence, though intemperance often made him seem more stupid than he was, Trajan began again. "O Zeus and ye other gods, when I took over the empire it was in a sort of lethargy and much disordered by the tyranny that had long prevailed at home, and by the insolent conduct of the Getae. I alone ventured to attack the tribes beyond the Danube, and I subdued the Getae, the most warlike race that ever existed, which is due partly to their physical courage, partly to the doctrines that they have adopted from their admired Zamolxis.[1] For they believe that they do not die but only change their place of abode, and they meet death more readily than other men undertake a journey. Yet I accomplished that task in a matter

[1] Cf. 309 C, *Oration* 8. 244 A and note.

ἔργον τοῦτο ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἴσως που πέντε. πάντων
δὲ ὅτι τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ[1] γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328
ὤφθην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πραότατος καὶ οὔτε Καῖσαρ
οὕτοσὶ περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἄν μοι οὔτ'
ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἷς, εὔδηλόν ἐστί που. πρὸς Παρ-
θυαίους δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ
ᾠμην δεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις· ἀδικοῦσι δὲ
ἐπεξῆλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κωλυθείς, καίτοι
διδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι.
τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι B
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιος, πρᾷος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφερόντως γενόμενος, αἰδεσθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἔκγονον[2] φιλοσοφίαν; τοιαῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς εἰπὼν
ἐδόκει τῇ πραότητι πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δῆλοί
πως ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἡσθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς
ἠρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ἀκούσωμεν, ἔφη, τοῦ C
Στωικοῦ τουτουί, τί ποτε ἄρα τῶν παραδόξων
ἐκείνων ἐρεῖ καὶ τεραστίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεούς, Ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, λόγων οὐδὲν δεῖ καὶ
ἀγῶνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἠγνοεῖτε τἀμά, προσῆκον ἦν
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴστε καὶ λέληθεν
ὑμᾶς τῶν ἁπάντων οὐδέν, αὐτοί μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς D
ἀξίας. ἔδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τά τε ἄλλα

[1] ἐμαυτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐμοῦ MSS.
[2] ἔκγονον Wright, ἔγγονον Hertlein, MSS.

of five years or so. That of all the Emperors who came before me[1] I was regarded as the mildest in the treatment of my subjects, is, I imagine, obvious, and neither Caesar here nor any other will dispute it with me. Against the Parthians I thought I ought not to employ force until they had put themselves in the wrong, but when they did so I marched against them, undeterred by my age, though the laws would have allowed me to quit the service. Since then the facts are as I have said, do I not deserve to be honoured before all the rest, first because I was so mild to my subjects, secondly because more than others I inspired terror in my country's foes, thirdly because I revered your daughter divine Philosophy?"

When Trajan had finished this speech the gods decided that he excelled all the rest in clemency; and evidently this was a virtue peculiarly pleasing to them.

When Marcus Aurelius began to speak, Silenus whispered to Dionysus, "Let us hear which one of his paradoxes and wonderful doctrines this Stoic will produce." But Marcus turned to Zeus and the other gods and said, "It seems to me, O Zeus and ye other gods, that I have no need to make a speech or to compete. If you did not know all that concerns me it would indeed be fitting for me to inform you. But since you know it and nothing at all is hidden from you, do you of your own accord assign me such honour as I deserve."

Thus Marcus showed that admirable as he was in other respects he was wise also beyond the rest,

[1] For this idiom cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 4. 324.

"Adam the goodliest of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve."

θαυμάσιός τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἅτε οἶμαι διαγινώσκων,

Λέγειν θ' ὅπου χρὴ καὶ σιγᾶν ὅπου καλόν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τοῦτον λέγειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐθάρρει τὴν ἀγωνίαν. ὡς δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα, μικρὰ παντάπασιν εἶδε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329
εἴ γε χρὴ τἀληθῆ φάναι, καθῃρήκει, τὸν μὲν ἀπόλεμόν τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιόν τε καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆ,[1] ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐχθίστω. τά γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἦν γελοῖα αὐτῷ· φόρους γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐτετελέκει,[2] καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφὴν ἀφεώρα· πόρρω δὲ εἱστήκει τῶν θεῶν αὕτη περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς Σελήνης· ἐρωτικῶς τε οὖν εἶχεν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπων οὐδὲν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς B
νίκης.[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τι, Ταύτῃ τούτων κρείττων, ἔφη, εἰμί, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μέν, ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυθικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς βαρβάρους ἠγωνισάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκταβιανοῦ τῷ μή, καθάπερ οὗτοι, πρὸς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς πολίτας στασιάσαι, τοῖς μιαρωτάτοις δὲ καὶ πονηροτάτοις τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν. Τραϊανοῦ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα- C
γαθήμασιν εἰκότως ἂν προτιμηθείην, τῷ δὲ ἦν οὗτος προσεκτήσατο χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν ἴσος ἂν οὐκ ἀπεικότως νομιζοίμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζόν ἐστι

[1] ἀσθενῆ Sylburg adds.
[2] After ἐτετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are lost. [3] νίκης Cobet, MSS, δίκης Hertlein, V, M.

because he knew "When it is time to speak and when to be silent." [1]

Constantine was allowed to speak next. On first entering the lists he was confident enough. But when he reflected on the exploits of the others he saw that his own were wholly trivial. He had defeated two tyrants, but, to tell the truth, one of them [2] was untrained in war and effeminate, the other [3] a poor creature and enfeebled by old age, while both were alike odious to gods and men. Moreover his campaigns against the barbarians covered him with ridicule. For he paid them tribute, so to speak, while he gave all his attention to Pleasure, who stood at a distance from the gods near the entrance to the moon. Of her indeed he was so enamoured that he had no eyes for anything else, and cared not at all for victory. However, as it was his turn and he had to say something, he began:

"In the following respects I am superior to these others; to the Macedonian in having fought against Romans, Germans and Scythians, instead of Asiatic barbarians; to Caesar and Octavian in that I did not, like them, lead a revolution against brave and good citizens, but attacked only the most cruel and wicked tyrants. As for Trajan, I should naturally rank higher on account of those same glorious exploits against the tyrants, while it would be only fair to regard me as his equal on the score of that territory which he added to the empire, and I recovered; if indeed it be not more glorious to regain

[1] Euripides, *fr.* 417 Nauck.
[2] Maxentius. [3] Licinius.

τὸ ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ οὑτοσὶ σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ὡς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δέ, εἶπεν, εἰσὶν οὓς λέγεις Ἀδώνιδος κήπους; οὓς αἱ γυναῖκες, ἔφη, D τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίοις ἐπαμησάμεναι γῆν λαχανίαν· χλοήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἠρυθρίασεν, ἄντικρυς ἐπιγνοὺς τοιοῦτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐῴκεσαν περιμένειν, ὅτῳ θήσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεοὶ ψῆφον· οἱ δ' ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τοὐμφανὲς τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγειν καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ[1] τῶν 330 πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ὧν ἡ Τύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρειστήκει πλὴν Ὀκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τοῦτον δὲ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πυθέσθαι, τί B νομίσειε κάλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τί βλέπων ἐργάσαιτο καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὅσαπερ δεδράκοι τε καὶ πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τὸ πάντα νικᾶν. εἶτα, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, οἴει σοι τοῦτο πεποιῆσθαι; καὶ μάλα, ἔφη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνὸς τωθαστικῶς μάλα γελάσας, Ἀλλὰ ἐκράτουν γέ σου πολλάκις αἱ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνιττόμενος τὰς ἀμπέλους, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἷα δή τινα μέθυσον C

[1] οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ Hertlein suggests, οὐκ ἐκ MSS.

than to gain. As for Marcus here, by saying nothing for himself he yields precedency to all of us." "But Constantine," said Silenus, "are you not offering us mere gardens of Adonis [1] as exploits?" "What do you mean," he asked, "by gardens of Adonis?" "I mean," said Silenus, "those that women plant in pots, in honour of the lover of Aphrodite, by scraping together a little earth for a garden bed. They bloom for a little space and fade forthwith." At this Constantine blushed, for he realised that this was exactly like his own performance.

Silence was then proclaimed, and the Emperors thought they had only to wait till the gods decided to whom they would vote the first prize. But the latter agreed that they must bring to light the motives that had governed each, and not judge them by their actions alone, since Fortune had the greatest share in these. That goddess herself was standing near and kept reproaching all of them, with the single exception of Octavian; he, she said, had always been grateful to her. Accordingly the gods decided to entrust this enquiry also to Hermes, and he was told to begin with Alexander and to ask him what he considered the finest of all things, and what had been his object in doing and suffering all that he had done and suffered. "To conquer the world," he replied. "Well," asked Hermes, "do you think you accomplished this?" "I do indeed," said Alexander. Whereupon Silenus with a malicious laugh exclaimed, "But you were often conquered yourself by my daughters!" by which he meant his vines, alluding to Alexander's love of wine and

[1] A proverb for whatever perishes quickly; cf. Theocritus 15. Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 194.

καὶ φίλοινον σκώπτων. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἅτε δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακουσμάτων, Οὐ τὰ ἄψυχα, ἔφη, νικᾶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστι πρὸς ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ πᾶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πᾶν δὲ θηρίων γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ὥσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες εἰρωνικῶς μάλα, Ἰού, ἰού, ἔφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν D κιγκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν ποτέρῳ σαυτὸν θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἀψύχων ἢ τῶν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ζώντων; καὶ ὃς ὥσπερ ἀγανακτήσας, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη· ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς γενοίμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶην, ἐπεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν, εἶπεν, ἡττήθης σεαυτοῦ πολλάκις. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι ὁμωνύμως λέγεται· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς 331 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἶπεν, ὅπως ἡμῶν τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. ἀλλ' ἡνίκα, εἶπεν, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρώθης καὶ ὁ Πευκέστης ἔκειτο παρὰ σέ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγου ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως, ἆρα ἧττων ἦσθα τοῦ τρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἔφη, μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξεπόρθησα τὴν πόλιν. Οὐ σύ γε, εἶπεν, ὦ μακάριε· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἔκεισο κατὰ τὸν Ὁμηρικὸν Ἕκτορα ὀλιγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν· οἱ δὲ B ἠγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐνίκων. Ἡγουμένων γ' ἡμῶν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Πῶς; οἵ γε

intemperate habits. But Alexander was well stocked with Peripatetic subterfuges, and retorted, "Inanimate things cannot conquer; nor do we contend with such, but only with the whole race of men and beasts." "Ah," said Silenus, "behold the chicanery of logic! But tell me in which class you place yourself, the inanimate or the animate and living?" At this he seemed mortified and said, "Hush! Such was my greatness of soul that I was convinced that I should become, or rather that I was already, a god." "At any rate," said Silenus, "you were often defeated by yourself." "Nay," retorted Alexander, "to conquer oneself or be defeated by oneself amounts to the same thing. I was talking of my victories over other men." "No more of your logic!" cried Silenus, "how adroitly you detect my sophisms! But when you were wounded in India,[1] and Peucestes[2] lay near you and they carried you out of the town at your last gasp, were you defeated by him who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" "I conquered him, and what is more I sacked the town as well." "Not you indeed, you immortal," said Silenus, "for you were lying like Homer's Hector in a swoon and at your last gasp. It was your soldiers who fought and conquered." "Well but I led them," said Alexander. "How so? When you were being carried away almost dead?" And then Silenus

[1] At the storming of the capital of the Mallians, probably the modern city Multan, in 326 B.C., cf. Plutarch, *Alexander*; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 14.

[2] Peucestes was wounded but saved Alexander's life; Pliny 34. 8.

ἐφέρεσθε μικροῦ νεκροί; εἶτα ᾗδε τῶν ἐξ Εὐριπίδου

Οἴμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται,
Ὅταν τρόπαιον πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός.

καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὦ παππίδιον, τοιαῦτα λέγων, μή σε οὗτος ὁποῖα τὸν Κλεῖτον C ἐργάσηται.[1] καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθριάσας τε ἅμα καὶ ὥσπερ συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ ὄμματα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὧδε ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο πάλιν τὸν Καίσαρα, Σοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοπὸς τοῦ βίου; Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἔφη, τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε D εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι[2] δεύτερον. Τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἀσαφές ἐστι· πότερον γάρ, εἰπέ,[3] κατὰ σοφίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα ἢ πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν; Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἡδύ μοι τῶν πάντων ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι πρώτῳ· τούτου δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ δύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις ἐζήλωσα. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν 332 ὁ Σειληνός. καὶ ὅς, Πάνυ γε, ἔφη· κύριος γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέν, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης· ἀγαπηθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένου, καὶ ταῦτα πολλὴν μὲν ὑποκρινάμενος ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι καὶ σκηνῇ φιλανθρωπίαν, αἰσχρῶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας κολακεύων. Εἶτα οὐκ ἀγαπηθῆναι δοκῶ, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ- B

[1] τὸν Κλεῖτον ἔδρασεν ἐργάσηται MSS.; Hertlein suggests omission of ἔδρασεν.

[2] μήτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι MSS.

[3] εἰπέ Hertlein suggests; cf. 333 D, εἶπε MSS.

recited the passage in Euripides[1] beginning "Alas how unjust is the custom of the Greeks, when an army triumphs over the enemy—" But Dionysus interrupted him saying "Stop, little father, say no more, or he will treat you as he treated Cleitus." At that Alexander blushed, his eyes became suffused with tears and he said no more. Thus their conversation ended.

Next Hermes began to question Caesar, and said, "And you, Caesar, what was the end and aim of your life?" "To hold the first place in my own country," he replied, "and neither to be nor to be thought second to any man." "This," said Hermes, "is not quite clear. Tell me, was it in wisdom that you wished to be first, or in oratorical skill, or in military science, or the science of government?" "I should have liked well," said Caesar, "to be first of all men in all of these; but as I could not attain to that, I sought to become the most powerful of my fellow-citizens." "And did you become so very powerful?" asked Silenus. "Certainly," he replied, "since I made myself their master." "Yes that you were able to do; but you could not make yourself beloved by them, though you played the philanthropic rôle as though you were acting in a stage-play, and flattered them all shamefully." "What!" cried Caesar, "I not beloved by the people? When

[1] *Andromache* 693 foll.: the passage continues "Tis not those who did the work that gain the credit but the general wins all the glory." Cleitus was killed by Alexander at a banquet for quoting these verses.

ξαντος Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδή σε ἀπέκτειναν, ἔφη· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι ὑπάτους· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἑώρων τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτοῖς οὗτοι[1] τὸν τυχόντα προσεγγεγραμμένον.

Λήξαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὀκτα- C
βιανὸν αὖθις ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐκίνει. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἡμῖν, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ ὅς, Βασιλεῦσαι, ἔφη, καλῶς. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ καλῶς, ὦ Σεβαστέ, φράσον, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε ἔστι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις λέγειν. ᾤετο γοῦν καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ ὁ τούτου μιαρώτερος Ἀγα-
θοκλῆς. Ἀλλ' ἴστε, εἶπεν, ὦ θεοί, ὡς προπέμπων D
τὸν θυγατριδοῦν ηὐξάμην ὑμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καίσαρος, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἐμήν. Πολλά, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεῶν ὄντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὗτος ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἶτα διὰ τί τοῦτο, ἔφη, τὸ ὄνομά μοι γελοῖον οὕτως ἔθου; Ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς νύμφας, ὦ Σεβαστέ, θεούς, ὧν ἕνα καὶ πρῶτον τουτονὶ Καίσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκταβιανὸς ὥσπερ δυσ- 333
ωπούμενος ἀπεσιώπησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν βλέψας, Σὺ δέ, εἶπε, τί διανοούμενος ἔπραττες ὅσαπερ ἔπραξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονέστερον,

[1] οὗτοι V, Cobet, οὔτι Hertlein.

they punished Brutus and Cassius!" "That was not for murdering you," replied Silenus, "since for that they elected them consuls![1] No, it was because of the money you left them. When they had heard your will read they perceived what a fine reward was offered them in it for such resentment of your murder."

When this dialogue ended, Hermes next accosted Octavian. "Now for you," he said, "will you please tell us what *you* thought the finest thing in the world?" "To govern well," he replied. "You must say what you mean by 'well,' Augustus. Govern well! The wickedest tyrants claim to do that. Even Dionysius,[2] I suppose, thought that he governed well, and so did Agathocles[3] who was a still greater criminal." "But you know, O ye gods," said Octavian, "that when I parted with my grandson[4] I prayed you to give him the courage of Caesar, the cleverness of Pompey, and my own good fortune." "What a many things," cried Silenus, "that do need really saving gods have been jumbled together by this doll-maker!" "Why pray do you give me that ridiculous name?" asked the other. "Why," he replied, "just as they model nymphs did you not model gods,[5] Augustus, and first and foremost Caesar here?" At this Octavian seemed abashed and said no more.

Then Hermes addressing Trajan said, "Now you tell us what was the principle that guided all your actions?" "My aims," he replied, "were the same

[1] This is not according to history. The Senate gave Brutus and Cassius proconsular power in their provinces.

[2] Tyrant of Syracuse 405–367 B.C.

[3] Tyrant of Syracuse 317–289 B.C.

[4] Caius Caesar.

[5] Julian refers to the custom of deifying the Emperors.

εἶπεν, ὠρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡττήθης μὲν οὖν,[1] εἶπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἀγεννεστέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἥττων ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπονειδίστου. Βάλλ' εἰς μακαρίαν, B
εἶπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπεὶ σκώπτεις σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγειν. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἶχέ σοι χώραν τὰ σκώμματα· πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναί μοί πως ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ Ἑρμῆς δὲ βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Βῆρε, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ ὃς ἠρέμα καὶ σωφρόνως, Τὸ μιμεῖσθαι, C
ἔφη, τοὺς θεούς. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἡ ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἀγεννής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυπραγμονεῖν, πεπεισμένος ὅτι πάντα ὁ Μάρκος ἀκολούθως ἐρεῖ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει ταύτῃ· μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέξομαι τούτου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. τί δήποτε γὰρ ἤσθιες, εἰπέ,[2] καὶ ἔπινες οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀμ- D
βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἄρτου δὲ καὶ οἴνου; Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἧπερ οὖν ᾤμην τοὺς θεοὺς μιμεῖσθαι, ταύτῃ προσεφερόμην σιτία καὶ ποτά· τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἔτρεφον, ἴσως μὲν ψευδῶς, πειθόμενος δέ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα σώματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταὐτά γε ὑμᾶς εἶναι μιμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὀλίγον ὁ Σειληνὸς διαπορήσας[3] 334

[1] μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σὺ Cobet adds. [2] εἰπέ Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 D, εἶπε MSS.
[3] διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.

as Alexander's, but I acted with more prudence." "Nay," said Silenus, "you were the slave of more ignoble passions. Anger was nearly always his weak point, but yours was pleasure of the vilest and most infamous sort." "Plague take you!" exclaimed Dionysus, "You keep railing at them all and you don't let them say a word for themselves. However, in their case there was some ground for your sarcasms, but now consider well what you can find to criticise in Marcus. For in my opinion he is a man, to quote Simonides, 'four-square and made without a flaw.'"[1] Then Hermes addressed Marcus and said, "And you, Verus, what did you think the noblest ambition in life?" In a low voice he answered modestly, "To imitate the gods." This answer they at once agreed was highly noble and in fact the best possible. And even Hermes did not wish to cross-examine him further, since he was convinced that Marcus would answer every question equally well. The other gods were of the same mind; only Silenus cried "By Dionysus I shall not let this sophist off so easily. Why then did you eat bread and drink wine and not ambrosia and nectar like us?" "Nay," he replied, "it was not in the fashion of my meat and drink that I thought to imitate the gods. But I nourished my body because I believed, though perhaps falsely, that even your bodies require to be nourished by the fumes of sacrifice. Not that I supposed I ought to imitate you in that respect, but rather your minds." For the moment Silenus was at a loss as though he

[1] Simonides *fr.* 5 Bergk.

ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πύκτου δεξιοῦ πληγείς, Εἴρηται μέν σοι τοῦτο, εἶπε, τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἐμοὶ δέ, ἔφη, φράσον, τί ποτε ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τὴν τῶν θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὅς, Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων, εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὅ, τι μάλιστα πλείστους. Μῶν οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐδενὸς ἐδέου; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδενός, ἴσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιόν μου μικρῶν. δόξαντος οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, B τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιφύεται τοῖς περὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγον πεποιῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν ὅτι ταῖς ἡρωίναις ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐμιμησάμην, εἶπε, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς θεούς· Ὁμήρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθόμην λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὅτι ἄρα, ὅστις ἀγαθὸς C καὶ ἐχέφρων, τὴν αὑτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται· περὶ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόφασιν ἔχω· αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἄρεα, Πάλαι ἄν, εἶπεν, ἐβέβλησο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παῖδά σε εἶναι ἠγάπων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ ᾤμην ἐγὼ τὸν παῖδα πονηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ νεότης ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μεγάλας ποιουμένη ῥοπὰς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἠνέχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψα, συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν λαβόντα πονηρὸν γενέσθαι. τά τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποίηταί D μοι κατὰ ζῆλον Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Διός, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲν καινοτομήσαντι. παισί τε γὰρ νόμιμον ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς διαδοχάς, καὶ

had been hit by a good boxer,[1] then he said "There is perhaps something in what you say; but now tell me what did you think was really meant by 'imitating the gods.'" "Having the fewest possible needs and doing good to the greatest possible number." "Do you mean to say," he asked, "that you had no needs at all?" "I," said Marcus, "had none, but my wretched body had a few, perhaps." Since in this also Marcus seemed to have answered wisely, Silenus was at a loss, but finally fastened on what he thought was foolish and unreasonable in the Emperor's behaviour to his son and his wife, I mean in enrolling the latter among the deified and entrusting the empire to the former. "But in that also," said the other, "I did but imitate the gods. I adopted the maxim of Homer when he says 'the good and prudent man loves and cherishes his own wife,'[2] while as to my son I can quote the excuse of Zeus himself when he is rebuking Ares: 'Long ago,' he says, 'I should have smitten thee with a thunderbolt, had I not loved thee because thou art my son.'[3] Besides, I never thought my son would prove so wicked. Youth ever vacillates between the extremes of vice and virtue, and if in the end he inclined to vice, still he was not vicious when I entrusted the empire to him; it was only after receiving it that he became corrupted. Therefore my behaviour to my wife was modelled on that of the divine Achilles, and that to my son was in imitation of supreme Zeus. Moreover, in neither case did I introduce any novelty. It is the custom to hand down the succession to a man's sons, and all men desire to do so; as

[1] Plato, *Protagoras* 339 E ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἀγαθοῦ πύκτου πληγείς.
[2] *Iliad* 9. 343. [3] A paraphrase of *Iliad* 5. 897.

τοῦτο ἅπαντες εὔχονται, τήν τε γαμετὴν οὐκ 335
ἐγὼ πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησα. ἴσως δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν εὔλογον, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγγὺς ἀδικίας. ἀλλ' ἔλαθον ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ μακρότερα ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί· διόπερ μοι τῆς προπετείας ταυτησὶ συγγνώμονες γένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν B
ἐνόμισας; Πολλά, εἶπε, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, ταῖς τ' ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπουργοῦντα. ἀνακαγχάσας οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, Ἀλλ' ἦ τραπεζίτης εἶναι, ἔφη, θέλων ἐλελήθεις σεαυτὸν ὀψοποιοῦ καὶ κομμωτρίας βίον ζῶν;[1] ἠνίττετο δ' αὐτὰ πάλαι μὲν ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἡ γνώμη σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. τούτου μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς πικρότερόν πως καθήψατο.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἔφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάθρᾳ C
τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ. κοινολογησάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προσέταξε κηρῦξαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ. ὁ δὲ ἐκήρυττεν, Ἄνδρες οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, νόμοι παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι καὶ κρίσεις τοιαῦται γίνονται, ὥστε καὶ τὸν νικῶντα χαίρειν καὶ τὸν ἡττώμενον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορεύεσθε οὖν, εἶπεν, ὅποι φίλον ἑκάστῳ, ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἡγεμόσι βιωσόμενοι D
τὸ ἐντεῦθεν· ἑλέσθω δ' ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ τὸν προστάτην τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα. μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα

[1] ζῶν Cobet, ἄγων Reiske, ἔχων Hertlein, MSS.

for my wife I was not the first to decree divine honours to a wife, for I followed the example of many others. It is perhaps absurd to have introduced any such custom, but it would be almost an injustice to deprive one's nearest and dearest of what is now long-established. However, I forget myself when I make this lengthy explanation to you, O Zeus and ye other gods; for ye know all things. Forgive me this forwardness."

When Marcus had finished his speech, Hermes asked Constantine, "And what was the height of *your* ambition?" "To amass great wealth," he answered, "and then to spend it liberally so as to gratify my own desires and the desires of my friends." At this Silenus burst into a loud laugh, and said, "If it was a banker that you wanted to be, how did you so far forget yourself as to lead the life of a pastrycook and hairdresser?" Your locks and your fair favour[1] betokened this all along, but what you say about your motives convicts you." Thus did Silenus sharply reprove Constantine.

Then silence was proclaimed and the gods cast a secret ballot. It turned out that Marcus had most of the votes. After conferring apart with his father,[2] Zeus bade Hermes make a proclamation as follows: "Know all ye mortals who have entered this contest, that according to our laws and decrees the victor is allowed to exult but the vanquished must not complain. Depart then wherever you please, and in future live every one of you under the guidance of the gods. Let every man choose his own guardian and guide."

[1] *Iliad* 3. 55. [2] Kronos.

τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ὀκταβιανὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀπρὶξ εἶχετο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκος. πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καίσαρα κατελεήσας ὁ μέγας Ἄρης ἥ τε Ἀφροδίτη παρ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαλεσάτην· Τραϊανὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔθει ὡς ἐκείνῳ συγκαθεδούμενος. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὑρίσκων 336
ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐγγύθεν τὴν Τρυφὴν κατιδὼν ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πήχεσι πέπλοις τε αὐτὸν ποικίλοις ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλλωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὑρὼν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, "Ὅστις φθορεύς, ὅστις μιαιφόνος, ὅστις ἐναγὴς καὶ βδελυρός, ἴτω θαρρῶν· Β
ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτῳὶ τῷ ὕδατι λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρόν, κἂν πάλιν ἔνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δώσω τὸ στῆθος πλήξαντι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαρῷ γενέσθαι," σφόδρα ἄσμενος ἐνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπέτριβον δ' αὐτόν τε κἀκείνους οὐχ ἧττον τῆς ἀθεότητος οἱ παλαμναῖοι δαίμονες, αἱμάτων συγγενῶν τινύμενοι δίκας, ἕως ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κωνστάντιον ἔδωκεν ἀναπνεῦσαι.

After this announcement, Alexander hastened to Heracles, and Octavian to Apollo, but Marcus attached himself closely to Zeus and Kronos. Caesar wandered about for a long time and ran hither and thither, till mighty Ares and Aphrodite took pity on him and summoned him to them. Trajan hastened to Alexander and sat down near him. As for Constantine, he could not discover among the gods the model of his own career, but when he caught sight of Pleasure, who was not far off, he ran to her. She received him tenderly and embraced him, then after dressing him in raiment of many colours and otherwise making him beautiful, she led him away to Incontinence. There too he found Jesus, who had taken up his abode with her and cried aloud to all comers: "He that is a seducer, he that is a murderer, he that is sacrilegious and infamous, let him approach without fear! For with this water will I wash him and will straightway make him clean. And though he should be guilty of those same sins a second time, let him but smite his breast and beat his head and I will make him clean again." To him Constantine came gladly, when he had conducted his sons forth from the assembly of the gods. But the avenging deities none the less punished both him and them for their impiety, and exacted the penalty for the shedding of the blood of their kindred,[1] until Zeus granted them a respite for the sake of Claudius and Constantius.[2]

[1] Introduction to Volume I. p. vii.
[2] Constantius Chlorus.

Σοὶ δέ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ερμῆς, δέδωκα τὸν C
πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγνῶναι· σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
ἐντολῶν ἔχου, πεῖσμα καὶ ὅρμον ἀσφαλῆ ζῶντί
τε σεαυτῷ παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν ἐνθένδε
ἀπιέναι δέῃ, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα
θεὸν εὐμενῆ καθιστὰς σεαυτῷ.

"As for thee," Hermes said to me, "I have granted thee the knowledge of thy father Mithras. Do thou keep his commandments, and thus secure for thyself a cable and sure anchorage throughout thy life, and when thou must depart from the world thou canst with good hopes adopt him as thy guardian god."

MISOPOGON

OR, BEARD-HATER

INTRODUCTION

JULIAN came to Antioch on his way to Persia in the autumn of 361 and stayed there till March, 362. The city was rich and important commercially, but in Julian's eyes her glory depended on two things, the famous shrine of Apollo and the school of rhetoric; and both of these had been neglected by the citizens during the reign of Constantius. A Christian church had been built in Apollo's grove in the suburb of Daphne, and Libanius, Antioch's most distinguished rhetorician, was more highly honoured at Nicomedia.[1] Julian's behaviour at Antioch and his failure to ingratiate himself with the citizens illustrates one of the causes of the failure of his Pagan restoration. His mistake was that he did not attempt to make Paganism popular, whereas Christianity had always been democratic. He is always reminding the common people that the true knowledge of the gods is reserved for philosophers; and even the old conservative Pagans did not share his zeal for philosophy. Antioch moreover was a frivolous city. The Emperor Hadrian three centuries earlier had been much offended by the levity of her citizens, and the homilies of Saint

[1] cf. Libanius, *Oration* 29. 220, where he warns the people of Antioch that Caesarea had already robbed them of one sophist by the offer of a higher salary, and exhorts them not to neglect rhetoric, the cause of their greatness.

Chrysostom exhibit the same picture as Julian's satire. His austere personality and mode of life repelled the Syrian populace and the corrupt officials of Antioch. They satirised him in anapaestic verses, and either stayed away from the temples that he restored or, when they did attend in response to his summons, showed by their untimely applause of the Emperor that they had not come to worship his gods. Julian's answer was this satire on himself which he addresses directly to the people of Antioch. But he could not resist scolding them, and the satire on his own habits is not consistently maintained. After he had left the city the citizens repented and sent a deputation to make their peace with him, but in spite of the intercession of Libanius, who had accompanied him to Antioch, he could not forgive the insults to himself or the irreverence that had been displayed to the gods.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΚΟΣ[1] Η ΜΙΣΟΠΩΓΩΝ

Ἀνακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ πολλὰ ἐποιήθη μέλη χαρίεντα· τρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν· Ἀλκαίῳ δ' οὐκέτι οὐδ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν μοῦσαν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἡδονὰς τρέψαι· μοχθεῖν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐχρῶντο, κουφότερα B ποιοῦντες αὑτοῖς ὅσα ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἰ στοὺς ἀδικοῦντας λοιδορίᾳ. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ νόμος ἐπ' ὀνόματος αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους μὲν οὐδέν, εἶναι δ' ἐπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικὴν ὁ νῦν ἐπικρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς παιδείας τρόπος. αἴσχιον γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν, C ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως. οὐ μὴν ἀφέξομαι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν

[1] "The Discourse at Antioch" is an alternative title in the MSS.

MISOPOGON

OR, BEARD-HATER

Anacreon the poet composed many delightful songs; for a luxurious life was allotted to him by the Fates. But Alcaeus and Archilochus of Paros[1] the god did not permit to devote their muse to mirth and pleasure. For constrained as they were to endure toil, now of one sort, now of another, they used their poetry to relieve their toil, and by abusing those who wronged them they lightened the burdens imposed on them by Heaven. But as for me, the law forbids me to accuse by name those who, though I have done them no wrong, try to show their hostility to me; and on the other hand the fashion of education that now prevails among the well-born deprives me of the use of the music that consists in song. For in these days men think it more degrading to study music than once in the past they thought it to be rich by dishonest means. Nevertheless I will not on that account renounce the aid that it is in my power to win from the Muses. Indeed I have observed that even the

[1] In the seventh century B.C. Alcaeus of Lesbos and Archilochus both suffered exile, and the latter fell in battle against Naxos. For the misfortunes of Alcaeus, cf. Horace, *Odes* 2. 13.

Ῥῆνον βαρβάρους ἄγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα παραπλησίᾳ τοῖς κρωγμοῖς τῶν τραχὺ βοώντων ὀρνίθων ᾄδοντας καὶ εὐφραινομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις 338
τὴν μουσικὴν λυπηροῖς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἡδίστοις. ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυννοήσας εἴωθα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης μὲν ἕξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὁμοίας, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δῆτα ταῖς μούσαις ᾄδω καὶ ἐμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δ' ᾆσμα πεζῇ μὲν λέξει πεποίηται, λοιδορίας δ' ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μὰ Δία· πῶς γάρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου· εἰς B
δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ξυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν γράφειν εἴτε ἐπαίνους εἴτε ψόγους εἴργει νόμος οὐδείς. ἐπαινεῖν μὲν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἐθέλων ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίαν καλῷ μηδ' εὐπρεπεῖ μηδ' ὡραίῳ ὑπὸ δυστροπίας καὶ δυσ-
κολίας αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τουτονὶ C
πώγωνα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδενὸς μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλόν. ταῦτά τοι διαθεόντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν λόχμῃ τῶν θηρίων. ἐσθίειν δὲ λάβρως ἢ πίνειν χανδὸν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι· δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι προσέχειν, μὴ λάθω συγκαταφαγὼν[1] τὰς τρίχας

[1] *συγκαταφαγὼν* Cobet, *καὶ συγκαταφαγὼν* Hertlein, MSS.

barbarians across the Rhine sing savage songs composed in language not unlike the croaking of harsh-voiced birds, and that they delight in such songs. For I think it is always the case that inferior musicians, though they annoy their audiences, give very great pleasure to themselves. And with this in mind I often say to myself, like Ismenias—for though my talents are not equal to his, I have as I persuade myself a similar independence of soul—"I sing for the Muses and myself." [1]

However the song that I now sing has been composed in prose, and it contains much violent abuse, directed not, by Zeus, against others—how could it be, since the law forbids?—but against the poet and author himself. For there is no law to prevent one's writing either praise or criticism of oneself. Now as for praising myself, though I should be very glad to do so, I have no reason for that; but for criticising myself I have countless reasons, and first I will begin with my face. For though nature did not make this any too handsome or well-favoured or give it the bloom of youth, I myself out of sheer perversity and ill-temper have added to it this long beard of mine, to punish it, as it would seem, for this very crime of not being handsome by nature. For the same reason I put up with the lice that scamper about in it as though it were a thicket for wild beasts. As for eating greedily or drinking with my mouth wide open, it is not in my power; for I must take care, I suppose, or before I know it I shall eat up some of my own hairs along with my crumbs

[1] For Ismenias of Thebes cf. Plutarch, *Pericles*. The saying became a proverb; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 78. 420; Themistius 366 B; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "I have lived *mihi et Musis* in the University."

τοῖς ἄρτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν D
ἥκιστα ἀλγῶ. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἔοικεν ὁ
πώγων ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα λυπηρόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων
καθαρὰ λείοις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι γλυκερώτερα
χείλεσι χείλη προσμάττειν, ὅπερ ἤδη τις ἔφη τῶν
ἐργασαμένων ξὺν τῷ Πανὶ καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ εἰς
τὸν Δάφνιν ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δέ φατε δεῖν καὶ
σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθένδε· καὶ ἕτοιμος παρέχειν,
ἢν μόνον ἕλκειν δυνηθῆτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀτρίπτους
ὑμῶν καὶ μαλακὰς χεῖρας ἡ τραχύτης αὐτῶν
δεινὰ ἐργάσηται. νομίσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς δυσχεραίνειν
ἐμὲ τῷ σκώμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν 339
ὥσπερ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἐξὸν οἶμαι λεῖον
αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ψιλόν, ὁποῖον οἱ καλοὶ τῶν παί-
δων ἔχουσιν ἅπασαί τε αἱ γυναῖκες, αἷς φύσει
πρόσεστι τὸ ἐράσμιον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ
ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν υἱέας καὶ τὰς θυγα-
τέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητος βίου καὶ ἴσως ἀπαλότητος
τρόπου λεῖον ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τὸν ἄνδρα
ὑποφαίνοντες καὶ παραδεικνύντες διὰ τοῦ μετώπου B
καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν γνάθων.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησε μόνον ἡ βαθύτης τοῦ
γενείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσεστιν αὐχμός,
καὶ ὀλιγάκις κείρομαι καὶ ὀνυχίζομαι, καὶ τοὺς
δακτύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἔχω
μέλανας. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθέ τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων
μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι τὸ στῆθος δασὺ καὶ λάσιον ὥσπερ

of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis.[1] But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands."[2] And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

But as though the mere length of my beard were not enough, my head is dishevelled besides, and I seldom have my hair cut or my nails, while my fingers are nearly always black from using a pen. And if you would like to learn something that is usually a secret, my breast is shaggy, and covered

[1] Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 ὃς δέ κε προσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερα χείλεσι χείλη.
[2] *Odyssey* 22. 151; cf. Zonaras 13. 12. 213, Dindorf.

τῶν λεόντων, οἵπερ βασιλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων, οὐδὲ ἐποίησα λεῖον αὐτὸ πώποτε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος C εἰργασάμην λεῖον οὐδὲ μαλακόν. εἰπόν γ' ἂν ὑμῖν, εἴ τις ἦν μοι καὶ ἀκροχορδὼν ὥσπερ τῷ Κικέρωνι·[1] νυνὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ[2] συγγινώσκετε, φράσω ὑμῖν καὶ[3] ἕτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόχρῃ τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίαιτα παγχάλεπος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἴργω τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαυτὸν ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας, οὐδ' εἴσω τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἔξω τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, ὥσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἢ D δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδιδοὺς ἄγροικος ὀλίγα ἔχων οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖ δεσπότῃ. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθὼν τοῖς ἀφοσιουμένοις ἔοικα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀκούων μέγας, ὃς καθάπερ ὕπαρχος ἢ στρατηγὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξει τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων· ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ὁρῶντες ὀλίγῳ πρότερον

ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε νῦν
ἦβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.[4]

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως καὶ τοῦτο βαρὺ καὶ δεῖγμα 340
ἐναργὲς μοχθηρίας τρόπου· προστίθημι δὲ ἐγώ τι καινότερον ἀεί· μισῶ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας, ὥσπερ οἱ χρήματα ὠφληκότες τὰς ἀγοράς. ὀλιγάκις οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τῶν θεῶν

[1] Κικέρωνι Naber, cf. Plutarch, *Cicero*, Κίμωνι Hertlein, MSS. [2] εἰ Reiske, ἃ Hertlein, MSS.
[3] ὑμῖν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS.
[4] ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambs identified as a fragment of Cratinus.

with hair, like the breasts of lions who among wild beasts are monarchs like me, and I have never in my life made it smooth, so ill-conditioned and shabby am I, nor have I made any other part of my body smooth or soft. If I had a wart like Cicero,[1] I would tell you so; but as it happens I have none. And by your leave I will tell you something else. I am not content with having my body in this rough condition, but in addition the mode of life that I practise is very strict indeed. I banish myself from the theatres, such a dolt am I, and I do not admit the thymele [2] within my court except on the first day of the year, because I am too stupid to appreciate it; like some country fellow who from his small means has to pay a tax or render tribute to a harsh master. And even when I do enter the theatre I look like a man who is expiating a crime. Then again, though I am entitled a mighty Emperor, I employ no one to govern the mimes and chariot-drivers as my lieutenant or general throughout the inhabited world. And observing this recently, "You now recall that youth of his, his wit and wisdom." [3]

Perhaps you had this other grievance and clear proof of the worthlessness of my disposition—for I keep on adding some still more strange characteristic—I mean that I hate horse-races as men who owe money hate the market-place. Therefore I seldom attend them, only during the festivals of the

[1] cf. Plutarch, *Cicero*, who says that Cicero had a wart on his nose.

[2] *i.e.* the altar of Dionysus which was set up in the orchestra.

[3] Cratinus, *Eunidae fr.* 1; cf. Synesius, *Epistle* 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.

οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ὅ τε ἀνεψιὸς ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ ὁ θεῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ὁμοπάτριος. ἓξ δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεώμενος δρόμους, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἄν τις ἐρῶν τοῦ πράγματος ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία μὴ B μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἄσμενος ἀπαλλάττομαι.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔξω ταῦτα· καίτοι πόστον εἴρηταί μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικημάτων; τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἄγρυπνοι νύκτες ἐν στιβάδι, καὶ τροφὴ παντὸς ἥττων κόρου πικρὸν ἦθος ποιεῖ καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμιον. οὐ μὴν ὑμῶν γ' ἕνεκα τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύεται παρ' ἐμοῦ· δεινὴ δέ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρὶ πολεμεῖν ἔπεισεν, οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπίμπλασθαι σιτίων αὐτῇ. C ὀλιγιστάκις[1] οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνέβη. καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθὼν ἐξ ὅτου καῖσαρ ἐγενόμην ἅπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονῆς. ἄξιον δὲ ὑπομνησθῆναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ πάνυ χαρίεντος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἰκείου.

Ἐτύγχανον ἐγὼ χειμάζων περὶ τὴν φίλην D Λουκετίαν· ὀνομάζουσι δ' οὕτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν Παρισίων τὴν πολίχνην· ἔστι δ' οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος ἐγκειμένη τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τεῖχος περιλαμβάνει,[2] ξύλιναι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσάγουσι γέφυραι, καὶ ὀλιγάκις ὁ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μείζων γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἔστιν ὁποῖος ὥρᾳ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

[1] ὀλιγιστάκις Hertlein suggests, ὀλιγάκις MSS.
[2] περιλαμβάνει Cobet, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.

gods; and I do not stay the whole day as my cousin [1] used to do, and my uncle [2] and my brother and my father's son.[3] Six races are all that I stay to see, and not even those with the air of one who loves the sport, or even, by Zeus, with the air of one who does not hate and loathe it, and I am glad to get away.

But all these things are externals; and indeed what a small fraction of my offences against you have I described! But to turn to my private life within the court. Sleepless nights on a pallet and a diet that is anything rather than surfeiting make my temper harsh and unfriendly to a luxurious city like yours. However it is not in order to set an example to you that I adopt these habits. But in my childhood a strange and senseless delusion came over me and persuaded me to war against my belly, so that I do not allow it to fill itself with a great quantity of food. Thus it has happened to me most rarely of all men to vomit my food. And though I remember having this experience once, after I became Caesar, it was by accident and was not due to over-eating. It may be worth while to tell the story which is not in itself very graceful, but for that very reason is especially suited to me.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my beloved Lutetia—for that is how the Celts call the capital of the Parisians. It is a small island lying in the river; a wall entirely surrounds it, and wooden bridges lead to it on both sides. The river seldom rises and falls, but usually is the same depth in the winter as

[1] Constantius.

[2] Count Julian who had been Governor of Antioch. cf. *Letter* 13.

[3] Gallus his half-brother.

ὕδωρ ἥδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὁρᾶν καὶ πίνειν ἐθέλοντι παρέχων. ἅτε γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντας ὑδρεύεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρή. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐκεῖ πραότερος εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης 341
τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ· στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει ⁻ὧν ἐννακοσίων οὐ πλείω, καὶ διαδίδοται τυχὸν λεπτή τις αὔρα τοῦ ὕδατος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον τοῦ γλυκέος· εἴτε οὖν ἐκ ταύτης εἴτε ἔκ τινος ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀφανοῦς ἐμοί, τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστι τοιοῦτον, ἀλεεινότερον ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίον οἰκοῦντες τὸν χειμῶνα, καὶ φύεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἄμπελος ἀγαθή, καὶ συκᾶς ἤδη εἰσιν οἳ[1] ἐμηχανήσαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥσπερ B
ἱματίοις τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τοιούτοις τισίν, ὅσα εἴωθεν εἴργειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπιγιγνομένην τοῖς δένδροις βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὴ οὖν ὁ χειμὼν τοῦ εἰωθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ παρέφερεν ὁ ποταμὸς ὥσπερ μαρμάρου πλάκας· ἵστε δήπου τὸν Φρύγιον λίθον τὸν λευκόν· τούτῳ ἐῴκει μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα,[2] μεγάλα καὶ ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχῆ ποιεῖν ἤδη τὸν πόρον ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα γεφυροῦν. C
ὡς οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἀγριώτερος ἦν τοῦ συνήθους, ἐθάλπετο δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον οὐδαμῶς, οὗπερ ἐκάθευδον, ὅνπερ εἰώθει τρόπον ὑπογαίοις[3] καμίνοις τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεῖ θερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχον εὐτρεπῶς πρὸς τὸ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλέαν· συνέβη δ᾽ οἶμαι καὶ

[1] εἰσιν οἳ Cobet, τινές εἰσιν οἳ Hertlein, MSS.

[2] τὸν—κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, ᾧ ἐῴκει μάλιστα τοῦ λευκοῦ τούτου τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.

[3] ὑπογαίοις Naber, cf. Pliny *Ep.* 2. 17; ὑπὸ ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

in the summer season, and it provides water which is very clear to the eye and very pleasant for one who wishes to drink. For since the inhabitants live on an island they have to draw their water chiefly from the river. The winter too is rather mild there, perhaps from the warmth of the ocean, which is not more than nine hundred stades distant, and it may be that a slight breeze from the water is wafted so far; for sea water seems to be warmer than fresh. Whether from this or from some other cause obscure to me, the fact is as I say, that those who live in that place have a warmer winter. And a good kind of vine grows thereabouts, and some persons have even managed to make fig-trees grow by covering them in winter with a sort of garment of wheat straw and with things of that sort, such as are used to protect trees from the harm that is done them by the cold wind. As I was saying then, the winter was more severe than usual, and the river kept bringing down blocks like marble. You know, I suppose, the white stone that comes from Phrygia; the blocks of ice were very like it, of great size, and drifted down one after another; in fact it seemed likely that they would make an unbroken path and bridge the stream. The winter then was more inclement than usual, but the room where I slept was not warmed in the way that most houses are heated, I mean by furnaces underground; and that too though it was conveniently arranged for letting in heat from such a fire. But it so happened I suppose, because I was awkward then as now, and

τότε διὰ σκαιότητα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπανθρωπίαν· ἐβουλόμην γὰρ ἐθίζειν ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα ταύτης ἀνενδεῶς ἔχοντα τῆς βοηθείας. ὡς δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἀεὶ μείζων ἐπεγίνετο, θερμῆναι D μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ οἴκημα, δεδιὼς κινῆσαι τὴν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ὑγρότητα, κομίσαι δ' ἔνδον ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαυμένον καὶ ἄνθρακας λαμπροὺς ἀποθέσθαι παντελῶς μετρίους. οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὄντες οὐ πολλοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων ἀτμοὺς ἐκίνησαν, ὑφ' ὧν κατέδαρθον. ἐμπιμπλαμένης δέ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδέησα μὲν ἀποπνιγῆναι, κομισθεὶς δ' ἔξω, τῶν ἰατρῶν 342 παραινούντων ἀπορρῖψαι τὴν ἐντεθεῖσαν ἄρτι τροφήν, οὔτι μὰ Δία πολλὴν οὖσαν, ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ἐγενόμην αὐτίκα ῥᾴων, ὥστε μοι γενέσθαι κουφοτέραν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας πράττειν ὅ,τιπερ ἐθέλοιμι.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν Κελτοῖς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ πόνους προσετίθην. ἀλλ' ἡ Κελτῶν μὲν ταῦτα ῥᾷον ἔφερεν ἀγροικία, πόλις δ' εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαρία καὶ πολυάνθρωπος εἰκότως ἄχθεται, ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ B μὲν ὀρχησταί, πολλοὶ δ' αὐληταί, μῖμοι δὲ πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν, αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχόντων. ἐρυθριᾶν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἀνάνδροις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀνδρείοις, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἔωθεν κωμάζειν, νύκτωρ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ὅτι τῶν νόμων ὑπερορᾶτε μὴ

displayed inhumanity first of all, as was natural, towards myself. For I wished to accustom myself to bear the cold air without needing this aid. And though the winter weather prevailed and continually increased in severity, even so I did not allow my servants to heat the house, because I was afraid of drawing out the dampness in the walls; but I ordered them to carry in fire that had burned down and to place in the room a very moderate number of hot coals. But the coals, though there were not very many of them, brought out from the walls quantities of steam and this made me fall asleep. And since my head was filled with the fumes I was almost choked. Then I was carried outside, and since the doctors advised me to throw up the food I had just swallowed,— and it was little enough, by Zeus—, I vomited it and at once became easier, so that I had a more comfortable night, and next day could do whatever I pleased.

After this fashion then, even when I was among the Celts, like the ill-tempered man in Menander,[1] "I myself kept heaping troubles on my own head." But whereas the boorish Celts used easily to put up with these ways of mine, they are naturally resented by a prosperous and gay and crowded city in which there are numerous dancers and flute players and more mimes than ordinary citizens, and no respect at all for those who govern. For the blush of modesty befits the unmanly, but manly fellows like you it befits to begin your revels at dawn, to spend your nights in pleasure, and to show not only by

[1] cf. *Oration* 3. 113 C, note. Cobet thinks that the verse in Menander, *Duskolos* was *αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτῷ προστίθημι τοὺς πόνους.*

λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας· ὥστε ὅστις ἄρχοντα ὕβρισεν οὗτος ἐκ περιουσίας τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις C εὐφραινόμενοι δῆλον ποιεῖτε πολλαχοῦ μέν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρότων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοῆς ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῷ γνωριμώτεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἑορτὰς ἐδαπάνησαν ἢ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας. καλοὶ δὲ πάντες καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ λεῖοι καὶ ἀγένειοι, νέοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ζηλωταὶ D τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐνὰς
ἀντὶ τῆς ὁσίας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

"Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ σκαιότητα τούτοις ἁρμόσειν ὑπέλαβες; οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστί σοι καὶ φαῦλον, ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατε καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατε, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγεννεστάτων σῶφρον τουτὶ ψυχάριον, ὃ δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζειν σωφροσύνῃ χρῆναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἡ σωφροσύνη ὅ,τι ποτ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἴσμεν, 343
ὄνομα δ' αὐτῆς ἀκούοντες μόνον ἔργον οὐχ ὁρῶμεν. εἰ δ' ὁποῖον σὺ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθαι μὲν ὅτι θεοῖς χρὴ δουλεύειν καὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τῶν

your words but by your deeds also that you despise the laws. For indeed it is only by means of those in authority that the laws inspire fear in men; so that he who insults one who is in authority, over and above this tramples on the laws. And that you take pleasure in this sort of behaviour you show clearly on many occasions, but especially in the market-places and theatres; the mass of the people by their clapping and shouting, while those in office show it by the fact that, on account of the sums they have spent on such entertainments, they are more widely known and more talked about by all men than Solon the Athenian ever was on account of his interview with Croesus the king of the Lydians.[1] And all of you are handsome and tall and smooth-skinned and beardless; for young and old alike you are emulous of the happiness of the Phaeacians, and rather than righteousness you prefer "changes of raiment and warm baths and beds." [2].

"What then?" you answer, "did you really suppose that your boorish manners and savage ways and clumsiness would harmonise with these things? O most ignorant and most quarrelsome of men, is it so senseless then and so stupid, that puny soul of yours which men of poor spirit call temperate, and which you forsooth think it your duty to adorn and deck out with temperance? You are wrong; for in the first place we do not know what temperance is and we hear its name only, while the real thing we cannot see. But if it is the sort of thing that you now practise, if it consists in knowing that men must be enslaved to the gods and the laws, in behaving

[1] For Solon's visit to Croesus at Sardis cf. Herodotus 1. 29.
[2] *Odyssey* 8. 249.

ἴσων δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ὑπεροχὴν φέρειν πρᾳότερον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλουτούντων ἥκιστα ἀδικήσονται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πράγματα ἔχειν, ὁποῖα εἰκός ἐστί σοι γενέσθαι πολλάκις, ἀπεχθείας, ὀργάς, λοιδορίας· εἶτα καὶ B ταῦτα φέρειν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδ' ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτό τις ἔργον θεῖτο σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς οὐ λίαν ἀπρεποῦς οὐδ' ἐπονειδίστου δοκούσης ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ σω- φρονεῖν καὶ λάθρᾳ τὸν δημοσίᾳ καὶ φανερῶς C ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερπόμενον τοῖς θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὖν ὄντως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἀπόλωλας μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὄνομα δουλείας οὔτε πρὸς θεοὺς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἡδὺ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι τὸ ἐλεύθερον.

"Ἡ δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φὴς οὐδὲ ἀνέχῃ τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς, ὥστε ἤδη ἔπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἐθάδας πάλαι D γενομένους ἀφελεῖν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, δουλεύειν δ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἄρχουσι καὶ νόμοις. καίτοι πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ὀνομάζεσθαι μέν σε δεσπότην, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐᾶν ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐλευ- θέρους, ὦ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρᾳότατε, πικρότατε

with fairness to those of equal rank and bearing with mildness any superiority among them; in studying and taking thought that the poor may suffer no injustice whatever at the hands of the rich; and, to attain this, in putting up with all the annoyances that you will naturally often meet with, hatred, anger, and abuse; and then in bearing these also with firmness and not resenting them or giving way to your anger, but in training yourself as far as possible to practise temperance; and if again this also one defines as the effect of temperance that one abstains from every pleasure even though it be not excessively unbecoming or considered blameworthy when openly pursued, because you are convinced that it is impossible for a man to be temperate in his private life and in secret, if in public and openly he is willing to be licentious and delights in the theatres; if, in short, temperance is really this sort of thing, then you yourself have ruined yourself and moreover you are ruining us, who cannot bear in the first place even to hear the name of slavery, whether it be slavery to the gods or the laws. For sweet is liberty in all things!

"But what an affectation of humility is yours! You say that you are not our master and you will not let yourself be so called, nay more, you resent the idea, so that you have actually persuaded the majority of men who have long grown accustomed to it, to get rid of this word 'Government' as though it were something invidious; and yet you compel us to be enslaved to magistrates and laws. But how much better it would be for you to accept the name of master, but in actual fact to allow us to be free, you who are so very mild about the names we use and so

δὲ τὰ ἔργα; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀποκναίεις βιαζό- 344
μενος μὲν τοὺς πλουσίους ἐν δικαστηρίοις μετριά-
ζειν, τοὺς πένητας δὲ εἴργεις συκοφαντεῖν. ἀφεὶς
δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς μίμους καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς
ἀπολώλεκας ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν
ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχει παρὰ σοῦ πλὴν τῆς βαρύτητος,
ἧς ἀνεχόμενοι μῆνα ἕβδομον τουτονὶ τὸ μὲν εὔ-
χεσθαι πάντως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ τοσούτου κακοῦ
τοῖς περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένοις γραδίοις
ξυνεχωρήσαμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
εὐτραπελίας ἐξειργασάμεθα βάλλοντές σε τοῖς B
σκώμμασιν ὥσπερ τοξεύμασι. σὺ δέ, ὦ γενναῖε,
πῶς ἀνέξῃ τὰ Περσῶν βέλη, τὰ ἡμέτερα τρέσας
σκώμματα;"

Ἰδού, βούλομαι πάλιν ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἐμαυτῷ
λοιδορήσασθαι. "Φοιτᾷς εἰς τὰ ἱερά, δύσκολε καὶ
δύστροπε καὶ πάντα μοχθηρέ. συρρεῖ διὰ σὲ τὰ
πλήθη πρὸς τὰ τεμένη καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ πλείους
τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ἀποδέχονταί σε σὺν βοῇ μετὰ
κρότων λαμπρῶς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις. τί οὖν οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς οὐδ' ἐπαινεῖς, ἀλλ' C
ἐπιχειρεῖς εἶναι σοφώτερος τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ Πυ-
θίου, καὶ δημηγορεῖς ἐν τῷ πλήθει, καὶ καθάπτῃ
τῶν βοώντων πικρῶς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο λέγων, ὡς
Ὑμεῖς τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκεν ὀλιγάκις εἰς τὰ τεμένη
συνέρχεσθε, συνδραμόντες δὲ δι' ἐμὲ πολλῆς
ἀκοσμίας ἀναπίμπλατε τὰ ἱερά. πρέπει δ' ἀν- D
δράσι σώφροσι κεκοσμημένως εὔχεσθαι σιγῇ

very strict about the things we do! Then again you harass us by forcing the rich to behave with moderation in the lawcourts, though you keep the poor from making money by informing.[1] And by ignoring the stage and mimes and dancers you have ruined our city, so that we get no good out of you except your harshness; and this we have had to put up with these seven months, so that we have left it to the old crones who grovel among the tombs to pray that we may be entirely rid of so great a curse, but we ourselves have accomplished it by our own ingenious insolence, by shooting our satires at you like arrows. How, noble sir, will you face the darts of Persians, when you take flight at our ridicule?"

Come, I am ready to make a fresh start in abusing myself. "You, sir, go regularly to the temples, ill-tempered, perverse and wholly worthless as you are! It is your doing that the masses stream into the sacred precincts, yes and most of the magistrates as well, and they give you a splendid welcome, greeting you with shouts and clapping in the precincts as though they were in the theatres. Then why do you not treat them kindly and praise them? Instead of that you try to be wiser in such matters than the Pythian god,[2] and you make harangues to the crowd and with harsh words rebuke those who shout. These are the very words you use to them: 'You hardly ever assemble at the shrines to do honour to the gods, but to do me honour you rush here in crowds and fill the temples with much disorder. Yet it becomes prudent men to pray in orderly

[1] *i.e.* bringing false accusations, which was the trade of the sycophant or blackmailer.

[2] Apollo who was worshipped at Daphne near Antioch.

παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένοις τὰ ἀγαθά. τοῦτον οὐκ ἠκροᾶσθε τὸν νόμον Ὁμήρου

Σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων—,

οὐδ' ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπέσχε τὴν Εὐρύκλειαν ἐκπεπληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηῦ, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυζε;

τὰς δὲ δὴ Τρῳάδας οὔτι πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἤ τινα τῶν τούτου θυγατέρων ἢ υἱέων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἕκτορα· καίτοι τούτῳ φησὶν ὡς θεῷ τοὺς 345
Τρῶας εὔχεσθαι· εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει οὔτε γυναῖκας οὔτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησί, χεῖρας ἀνέσχον, βαρβαρικὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶ πρέπον, οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ποιούμενον. ἐπαινεῖτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς B
ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς κολακεύετε. κάλλιστον δ' ἔστιν οἶμαι μηδ' ἐκείνους κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν σωφρόνως."

Ἰδού, πάλιν ἐγὼ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτεύω λεξείδια καὶ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ συγχωρῶ φθέγγεσθαι ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους σκαιότητος καὶ ἐμαυτὸν συκοφαντῶ. ταῦτά τις καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἂν λέγοι πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς C
θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὅπως τις εὔνους

fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer's maxim, "In silence, to yourselves"[1]—, or how Odysseus checked Eurycleia when she was stricken with amazement by the greatness of his success, "Rejoice, old woman, in thy heart, and restrain thyself, and utter no loud cry"?[2] And again, Homer did not show us the Trojan women praying to Priam or to any one of his daughters or sons, nay not even to Hector himself (though he does indeed say that the men of Troy were wont to pray to Hector as to a god); but in his poems he did not show us either women or men in the act of prayer to him, but he says that to Athene all the women lifted up their hands with a loud cry,[3] which was in itself a barbaric thing to do and suitable only for women, but at any rate it displayed no impiety to the gods as does your conduct. For you applaud men instead of the gods, or rather instead of the gods you flatter me who am a mere man. But it would be best, I think, not to flatter even the gods but to worship them with temperate hearts.'"

See there I am again, busy with my usual phrase-making! I do not even allow myself to speak out at random fearlessly and freely, but with my usual awkwardness I am laying information against myself. It is thus and in words like these that one ought to address men who want to be free not only with respect to those who govern them but to the gods also, in order that one may be considered well-disposed towards them, "like an

[1] *Iliad* 7. 195

τόφρ' ὑμεῖς εὔχεσθε Διὶ Κρονίωνι, ἄνακτι
σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων, ἵνα μὴ Τρῶές γε πύθωνται.

[2] *Odyssey* 22. 411.

[3] *Iliad* 6. 301.

αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ πατὴρ ἤπιος νομισθείη, φύσει πονηρὸς ὢν ὥσπερ ἐγώ. ἀνέχου τοίνυν αὐτῶν μισούντων καὶ λοιδορούντων λάθρᾳ ἢ καὶ φανερῶς, ἐπειδὴ κολακεύειν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁρμῇ μιᾷ[1] σε ἐπαινοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι διενοήθης ὅπως ἁρμόσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς βίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἤθεσιν. εἶεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τίς ἀνέξεταί σου; καθεύδεις ὡς ἐπίπαν νύκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὅ σου D τὸν ἄγριον καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμόν· ἀποκέκλεισται δὲ πάσῃ πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμίᾳ· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ζῶν βίον εὐφραίνῃ καὶ πεποίησαι τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας ἡδονήν. εἶτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἴ του τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούεις; ἐξὸν εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμμελέστερόν σε νουθετοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἀποψιλῶσαι μὲν τὰς παρειάς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον δεικνύειν πάντα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ φιλογέλωτι τῷδε θεάματα, μίμους, 346
ὀρχηστάς, ἥκιστα αἰσχυνομένας γυναῖκας, παιδάρια περὶ κάλλους ἁμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἄνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὔτι τὰς γνάθους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειότεροι τῶν γυναικῶν ὅπως φαίνοιντο τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἑορτάς, πανηγύρεις, οὔτι μὰ Δία τὰς ἱεράς, ἐν αἷς χρὴ σωφρονεῖν· ἅλις μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ τῆς

[1] ὁρμῇ μιᾷ Naber, ὁρώμενόν Hertlein, MSS.

indulgent father,"[1] even though one is by nature an ill-conditioned person like myself: "Bear with them then, when they hate and abuse you in secret or even openly, since you thought that those who applauded you with one accord in the temples were only flattering you. For surely you did not suppose that you would be in harmony with the pursuits or the lives or the temperaments of these men. I grant that. But who will bear with this other habit of yours? You always sleep alone at night, and there is no way of softening your savage and uncivilised temper—since all avenues are closed to anything that might sweeten your disposition,—and the worst of all these evils is that you delight in living that sort of life and have laid pleasure under a general ban. Then can you feel aggrieved if you hear yourself spoken of in such terms? No, you ought to feel grateful to those who out of kindness of heart admonish you wittily in anapaestic verse to shave your cheeks smooth, and then, beginning with yourself, first to show to this laughter-loving people all sorts of fine spectacles, mimes, dancers, shameless women, boys who in their beauty emulate women, and men who have not only their jaws shaved smooth but their whole bodies too, so that those who meet them may think them smoother than women; yes and feasts too and general festivals, not, by Zeus, the sacred ones at which one is bound to behave with sobriety. No, we have had enough of those, like the oak tree in the proverb;[2] we are completely

[1] *Odyssey* 5. 12.

[2] The phrase δρῦς καὶ πέτρα, literally, "the oak tree and the rock" became a proverb for something hackneyed; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 35, ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;

δρυός, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κόρος αὐτῶν. ἔθυσεν ὁ καῖσαρ B
ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἄπαξ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης, εἰς
τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τρὶς ἐφεξῆς ἐβάδισεν· ἐπιλέ-
λησμαι γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Δάφνης ὁσάκις εἰσῆλθον
τέμενος, προδοθὲν μὲν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τῶν φυλάκων,
ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνδρῶν τόλμαις ἀφανισθέν. ἡ
Σύρων ἦκει νουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὖθις εἰς
Φιλίου Διός· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ
καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπι- C
σχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς
εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς
ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καίσαρος,
ἐξὸν ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ
τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐκείνας, ὁπόσαι κοιναὶ μέν εἰσι
παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὧν ἔξεστι μετέχειν οὐ τοῖς
ἐπισταμένοις μόνον θεούς,[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὧν[2]
ἐστιν ἡ πόλις πλήρης; ἡδονὴ δὲ πολλὴ καὶ
χάριτες, ὁποίας ἄν τις εὐφραίνοιτο διηνεκῶς
καρπούμενος, ὁρῶν ὀρχουμένους ἄνδρας καὶ παι- D
δάρια καὶ γύναια πολλά.

Ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα λογίσωμαι, μακαρίζω μὲν
ὑμᾶς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄχθομαι·

[1] *μόνον θεούς* Hertlein suggests, *θεούς* MSS.
[2] *τοῖς ὧν* Naber, *ὧν* Hertlein, MSS.

surfeited with them. The Emperor sacrificed once in the temple of Zeus, then in the temple of Fortune; he visited the temple of Demeter three times in succession." (I have in fact forgotten how many times I entered the shrine of Daphne, which had been first abandoned owing to the carelessness of its guardians, and then destroyed by the audacious acts of godless men.[1]) "The Syrian New Year arrived, and again the Emperor went to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One. Then came the general festival, and the Emperor went to the shrine of Fortune. Then, after refraining on the forbidden day,[2] again he goes to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One, and offers up prayers according to the custom of our ancestors. Now who could put up with an Emperor who goes to the temples so often, when it is in his power to disturb the gods only once or twice, and to celebrate the general festivals which are for all the people in common, those in which not only men whose profession it is to have knowledge of the gods can take part, but also the people who have crowded into the city? For pleasure is here in abundance, and delights whose fruits one could enjoy continuously; for instance the sight of men and pretty boys dancing, and any number of charming women."

When I take all this into account, I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, though I do

[1] The Christians invaded the shrine of Apollo at Daphne and the priests of Apollo abandoned it to them. Julian destroyed the Christian Church there and restored the worship of Apollo.

[2] Literally the "day not to be mentioned," *i.e.* "unholy day," *nefandus dies*, on which business was suspended.

φίλα γάρ ἐστί μοι κατά τινα θεὸν ἴσως ταῦτα. διόπερ οὐδ' ἀγανακτῶ, εὖ ἴστε, τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσί μου τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ' αὐτὸς ὅσα δυνατόν ἐστί μοι τοῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν σκώμμασι μειζόνως ἐπικαταχέων ἐμαυτοῦ ταυτασὶ τὰς λοιδορίας, ὃς ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνῆκα, 347
ποταπὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἦθος, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεταί τοί ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὗπερ ἐπώνυμος ἥδε ἡ πόλις συνῳκίσθη· πεπόλισται[1] μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, τοὔνομα δὲ ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδός· ὃν δή φασι δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀβρότητος καὶ τρυφῆς ἐρῶντα B
ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἄδικον ἔρωτα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μητρυιᾶς ἐρασθῆναι· κρύπτειν δ' ἐθέλοντα τὸ πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ μικρὸν τηκόμενον ἀφανῶς οἴχεσθαι, καὶ ὑπορρεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔλαττον εἶναι τοῦ συνήθους. ἐῴκει δ' οἶμαι τὰ[2] κατ' αὐτὸν αἰνίγματι, σαφῆ μὲν οὐκ ἐχούσης αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' αὐτῆς, ἥτις ποτέ ἐστι, φαινομένης, C
ἐναργοῦς δ' οὔσης τῆς περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἀσθενείας. ἐνθάδε μέγας ἆθλος ἰατρῷ προυτέθη τῷ Σαμίῳ τὴν νόσον, ἥτις ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐξευρεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ὁμήρου, τίνες ποτέ εἰσιν

[1] πεπόλισται Cobet, Hertlein approves, πεποίηται MSS.
[2] τὰ Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.

not reproach myself. For perhaps it is some god who has made me prefer my own ways. Be assured then that I have no grievance against those who quarrel with my way of life and my choice. But I myself add, as far as I can, to the sarcasms against myself and with a more liberal hand I pour down on my own head these abusive charges. For it was due to my own folly that I did not understand what has been the temper of this city from the beginning; and that too though I am convinced that I have turned over quite as many books as any man of my own age. You know of course the tale that is told about the king who gave his name to this city—or rather whose name the city received when it was colonised, for it was founded by Seleucus, though it takes its name from the son[1] of Seleucus—; they say[2] then that out of excessive softness and luxury the latter was constantly falling in love and being loved, and finally he conceived a dishonourable passion for his own step-mother. And though he wished to conceal his condition he could not, and little by little his body began to waste away and to become transparent, and his powers to wane, and his breathing was feebler than usual. But what could be the matter with him was, I think, a sort of riddle, since his malady had no visible cause, or rather it did not even appear what was its nature, though the youth's weakness was manifest. Then the physician of Samos[3] was set a difficult problem, namely to discover what was the nature of the malady. Now he, suspecting from the words of Homer[4] what is

[1] *i.e.* Antiochus. [2] cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius*.
[3] *i.e.* Erasistratus.
[4] The phrase occurs in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 66, but not in Homer.

αἱ γυιοβόροι μελεδῶναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἀσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀρρωστία ψυχῆς αἰτία γίγνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὁρῶν ὑπό τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνηθείας οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίον τῆς κλίνης ἀφορῶν D
εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειρακίου, παριέναι κελεύσας καλούς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξαμένους. ἡ δ' ὡς ἦλθεν, ἐπισκεψομένη δῆθεν αὐτόν, αὐτίκα ἐδίδου τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἆσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἠφίει, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κινούμενον καίπερ σφόδρα ἐθέλων οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, καὶ ταραχὴ ἦν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρύθημα. ταῦτα ὁρῶν 348
ὁ ἰατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἐπήδα δεινῶς ἡ καρδία καὶ ἔξω ἵετο. τοιαῦτα ἄττα ἔπασχεν ἐκείνης παρούσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν, ἐπιόντων ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας εἶχε καὶ ἦν ὅμοιος τοῖς οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις εἶναι παραχωρεῖν ἔφη τῷ παιδὶ τῆς γαμετῆς. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἠρνήσατο· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἣν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἠρνήθη, μάλα κραταιῶς μετεδίωξεν.

Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιήθη. τοῖς δ' ἀπ' B
ἐκείνου γενομένοις οὐ νέμεσις ζηλοῦν τὸν οἰκιστὴν

the nature of "cares that devour the limbs," and that in many cases it is not a bodily weakness but an infirmity of soul that causes a wasting of the body; and seeing moreover that the youth was very susceptible to love because of his time of life and his habits, he took the following way of tracking down the disease. He sat near the youth's couch and watched his face, after ordering handsome youths and women to walk past him, beginning with the queen[1] herself. Now when she entered, apparently to see how he was, the young man at once began to show the symptoms of his malady. He breathed like one who is being choked; for though he was very anxious to control his agitated breathing, he could not, but it became disordered, and a deep blush spread over his face. The physician on seeing this laid his hand to his breast, and found that his heart was beating terribly fast and was trying to burst forth from his breast. Such were his symptoms while she was present; but when she had gone away and others came in he remained calm and was like a man in a normal state of health. Then Erasistratus saw what ailed him and told the king, and he out of love for his son said that he would give up his wife to him. Now the youth for the moment refused; but when his father died not long after, he sought with the greatest vehemence the favour which he had so honourably refused when it was first offered to him.[2]

Now since this was the conduct of Antiochus, I have no right to be angry with his descendants when

[1] Stratonice.

[2] In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.

ἢ τὸν ἐπώνυμον.[1] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰκός ἐστι διαδίδοσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰς ποιότητας, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἐπίπαν ὅμοια τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐξ ὧν ἐβλάστησε φύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι εἰκὸς παραπλήσια τὰ ἤθη τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνοις. ἐγώ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνων Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ C φιλανθρωποτάτους· καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν πᾶσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἔχω δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, καθόλου μὲν Ἕλληνες πάντες, αὐτῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων πλέον τοῦτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι διασώζουσιν εἰκόνα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀρετῆς, εἰκὸς δήπουθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ Σύροις καὶ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Θρᾳξὶ καὶ Παίοσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένοις Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἐπ' αὐταῖς Ἴστρου ταῖς ἠόσι D Μυσοῖς, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστί μοι πᾶν ἄγροικον, αὐστηρόν, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἐμμένον τοῖς κριθείσιν ἀμετακινήτως· ἃ δὴ πάντα ἐστὶ δείγματα δεινῆς ἀγροικίας.

Αἰτοῦμαι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον συγγνώμην, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν νέμω τὰ πάτρια ζηλοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἐν ὀνείδει προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψεῦσταί τ' ὀρχησταί τε χοροιτυπίῃσιν ἄριστοι, 349
τοὐναντίον δὲ ἀντ' ἐγκωμίων ὑμῖν προσεῖναί

[1] ἐπώνυμον Hertlein suggests, ὁμώνυμον MSS.

they emulate their founder or him who gave his name to the city. For just as in the case of plants it is natural that their qualities should be transmitted for a long time, or rather that, in general, the succeeding generation should resemble its ancestors; so too in the case of human beings it is natural that the morals of descendants should resemble those of their ancestors. I myself, for instance, have found that the Athenians are the most ambitious for honour and the most humane of all the Greeks. And indeed I have observed that these qualities exist in an admirable degree among all the Greeks, and I can say for them that more than all other nations they love the gods, and are hospitable to strangers; I mean all the Greeks generally, but among them the Athenians above all, as I can bear witness. And if they still preserve in their characters the image of their ancient virtue, surely it is natural that the same thing should be true of the Syrians also, and the Arabs and Celts and Thracians and Paeonians, and those who dwell between the Thracians and Paeonians, I mean the Mysians on the very banks of the Danube, from whom my own family is derived, a stock wholly boorish, austere, awkward, without charm and abiding immovably by its decisions; all of which qualities are proofs of terrible boorishness.

I therefore ask for forgiveness, in the first place for myself, and in my turn I grant it to you also since you emulate the manners of your forefathers, nor do I bring it against you as a reproach when I say that you are "Liars and dancers, well skilled to dance in a chorus";[1] on the contrary it is in the

[1] *Iliad* 24. 261.

φημι πατρίων ζῆλον ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπαινῶν τὸν Αὐτόλυκόν φησι περιεῖναι πάντων

Κλεπτοσύνῃ θ' ὅρκῳ τε.

καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν σκαιότητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως μαλάττεσθαι B μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐξαπατῶσι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἴκειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργω ὀνείδη. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστι κουφότερα, θεοῖς ἴσως δῆλον, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεῦσαι· πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ φιλαυτίαν, θαυμάζειν γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὁ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ζηλοῦντι νέμων συγγνώμην εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ πραότατος.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐννοήσας εὑρίσκω καὶ ἕτερα δεινὰ C ἐμαυτὸν εἰργασμένον. πόλει γὰρ προσιὼν ἐλευθέρᾳ, τὸν αὐχμὸν τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένῃ, ὥσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀπορούντες ἄκαρτος καὶ βαθυγένειος εἰσέδραμον· ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρίνην ὁρᾶν ἢ Θρασυλέοντα, δύσκολον πρεσβύτην ἢ στρατιώτην ἀνόητον, ἐξὸν φανῆναι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παῖδα ὡραῖον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἀβρότητα τοῦ προσώπου. D Οὐκ οἶσθα ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπαινέτης

place of a panegyric that I ascribe to you emulation of the practice of your forefathers. For Homer too is praising Autolycus when he says that he surpassed all men "in stealing and perjury."[1] And as for my own awkwardness and ignorance and ill-temper, and my inability to be influenced, or to mind my own business when people beg me to do so or try to deceive me and that I cannot yield to their clamour—even such reproaches I gladly accept. But whether your ways or mine are more supportable is perhaps clear to the gods, for among men there is no one capable of arbitrating in our disagreement. For such is our self-love that we shall never believe him, since everyone of us naturally admires his own ways and despises those of other men. In fact he who grants indulgence to one whose aims are the opposite of his own is, in my opinion, the most considerate of men.

But now I come to ponder the matter I find that I have committed yet other terrible sins. For though I was coming to a free city which cannot tolerate unkempt hair, I entered it unshaven and with a long beard, like men who are at a loss for a barber. One would have thought it was some Smicrines[2] he saw, or some Thrasyleon, some ill-tempered old man or crazy soldier, when by beautifying myself I might have appeared as a blooming boy and transformed myself into a youth, if not in years, at any rate in manners and effeminacy of features. "You do not know," you answer, "how to mix with people, and

[1] *Odyssey* 19. 396.

[2] Smicrines is a typical name in New Comedy for an avaricious old man; Thrasyleon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, "miles gloriosus."

εἶ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, οὐδὲ μιμῇ τὸν ἀφομοιούμενον ταῖς πέτραις πολύπουν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ λεγομένη Μυκόνιος ἀγροικία τε καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἀβελτηρία πρὸς πάντας ἐπιτηδεύεται παρὰ σοῦ. λέληθέ σε ὅτι[1] πολλοῦ δεῖ ταῦτα εἶναι Κελτοὶ καὶ Θρᾷκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοί; οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὁπόσα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καπηλεῖα; σὺ δὲ ἀπεχθάνῃ 350
τοῖς καπήλοις οὐ ξυγχωρῶν ὁπόσου βούλονται πωλεῖν αὐτοὺς[2] τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους τὴν γῆν αἰτιῶνται. σὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖ σαυτῷ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει τῆς πόλεως ἀμφοῖν μετέχοντες ταῖν ζημίαιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πρότερον ἔχαιρον διχόθεν καρπούμενοι τὰς ὠφελείας, καὶ ὡς κεκτημένοι Β
καὶ ὡς καπηλεύοντες, τὰ νῦν εἰκότως λυποῦνται δι᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἀφῃρημένοι τὰς ἐπικερδείας. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων δῆμος οὐκ ἔχων μεθύειν οὐδὲ κορδακίζειν ἄχθεται. σὺ δὲ σῖτον ἄφθονον παρέχων οἴει τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς. ἐκεῖνο δέ σου χαρίεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅπως ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πεταλοῦς ἔσται σκοπεῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῴην μεμφομένου τινός, ὡς οὔτε ἰχθυδίων οὔτε ὀρνίθων πολλῶν

[1] σε ὅτι—δεῖ Cobet, σε—δεῖν Hertlein, MSS.
[2] αὐτοὺς Reiske, αὐτοῖς Hertlein, MSS.

you cannot approve of the maxim of Theognis,[1] for you do not imitate the polypus which takes on the colours of the rocks. Nay rather you behave to all men with the proverbial Myconian[2] boorishness and ignorance and stupidity. Are you not aware that we here are far from being Celts or Thracians or Illyrians? Do you not see what a number of shops there are in this city? But you are hated by the shopkeepers because you do not allow them to sell provisions to the common people and those who are visiting the city at a price as high as they please. The shopkeepers blame the landowners for the high prices; but you make these men also your enemies, by compelling them to do what is just. Again, those who hold office in the city are subject to both penalties; I mean that just as, before you came, they obviously used to enjoy profits from both sources, both as landowners and as shopkeepers, so naturally they are now aggrieved on both accounts, since they have been robbed of their profits from both sources. Then the whole body of Syrian citizens are discontented because they cannot get drunk and dance the cordax.[3] You, however, think that you are feeding them well enough if you provide them with plenty of corn. Another charming thing about you is that you do not even take care that the city shall have shell-fish. Nay more, when someone complained the other day that neither shell-fish nor much poultry could be found in the market, you laughed very maliciously and said that a

[1] Theognis 215 foll. advises men to imitate the adaptability of the polypus.

[2] Mykonos was an island in the Cyclades whose inhabitants were proverbial for poverty and greed.

[3] The cordax was a lascivious dance.

εὑρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωθαστικὸν μάλα ἐγέ- C
λασας, ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου τῇ σώφρονι
πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεῶν δ' ἤδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ·
τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνιθίων λόγον ποιεῖσθαι
πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκῃ
μνηστῆρσι μετῆν ἀσελγείας. ὅτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐν
ἡδονῇ κρέα ὕεια καὶ προβάτεια σιτεῖσθαι, τῶν
ὀσπρίων ἁπτόμενος εὖ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας
Θρᾳξὶ νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαυτοῦ πολίταις ἢ τοῖς D
ἀναισθήτοις Γαλάταις, οἵ σε ἐπαιδοτρίβησαν
καθ' ἡμῶν "πρίνινον, σφενδάμνινον," οὐκέτι
μέντοι καὶ "Μαραθωνομάχον," ἀλλ' Ἀχαρνέα
μὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας, ἀηδῆ δ' ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ
ἄνθρωπον ἄχαριν. οὐ κρεῖττον ἦν ὀδωδέναι μύρων
τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζοντός σου καὶ παῖδας ἡγεῖσθαι
καλούς, εἰς οὓς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ
χοροὺς γυναικῶν, ὁποῖοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἵστανται καθ'
ἑκάστην ἡμέραν;"

Ἐμὲ δὲ ὑγρὸν βλέπειν ῥιπτοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351
τὰ ὄμματα, ὅπως ὑμῖν καλός, οὔτι τὴν ψυχήν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφθείην, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχω-
ρεῖ. ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἀληθινὸν
κάλλος ὑγρότης βίου. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδί-
δασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα·
θέατρον δ' οὐκ εἶδον πρὶν μᾶλλον κομῆσαι τῆς

well-conducted city needs bread, wine and olive oil, but meat only when it is growing luxurious.[1] For you said that even to speak of fish and poultry is the extreme of luxury and of profligacy such as was beyond the reach of even the suitors in Ithaca; and that anyone who did not enjoy eating pork and mutton[2] would fare very well if he took to vegetables.[3] You must have thought that you were laying down these rules for Thracians, your own fellow-citizens, or for the uncultured people of Gaul who—so much the worse for us!—trained you to be 'a heart of maple, a heart of oak,' though not indeed 'one who fought at Marathon'[4] also, but rather to be half of you an Acharnian and altogether an unpleasant person and an ungracious fellow. Would it not be better that the market place should be fragrant with myrrh when you walk there and that you should be followed by a troop of handsome boys at whom the citizens could stare, and by choruses of women like those that exhibit themselves every day in our city?"

No, my temperament does not allow me to look wanton, casting my eyes in all directions in order that in your sight I may appear beautiful, not indeed in soul but in face. For, in your judgment, true beauty of soul consists in a wanton life. I, however, was taught by my tutor to look on the ground when I was on my way to school; and as for a theatre, I never saw one until I had more hair on my chin

[1] Plato, *Republic* 372 E.
[2] The suitors of Penelope lived on pork and mutton.
[3] Literally "pulse."
[4] Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 180 uses these words to describe the older, more robust generation of Athenians.

κεφαλῆς τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδίᾳ
μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἢ τέ-
ταρτον, εὖ ἴστε, Πατρόκλῳ ἐπίηρα φέρων ἄρχων B
ἐπέταττεν οἰκεῖος ὢν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖος· ἐτύγχα-
νον δὲ ἰδιώτης ἔτι· σύγγνωτε οὖν ἐμοί· δίδωμι
γὰρ ὃν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ δικαιότερον μισήσετε τὸν φιλαπ-
εχθήμονα παιδαγωγόν, ὅς με καὶ τότε ἐλύπει
μίαν ὁδὸν ἰέναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αἴτιός ἐστί μοι
τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ C
καὶ ὥσπερ ἐντυπώσας ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐβου-
λόμην τότε, ὁ δὲ ὡς δή τι χαρίεν ποιῶν μάλα
προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἶμαι σεμνότητα τὴν
ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀν-
δρείαν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἴκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ'
εὐδαίμονα ταύτῃ γίνεσθαι. ἔφη δέ μοι πολλάκις,
εὖ ἴστε, ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μούσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔτι
παιδαρίῳ κομιδῇ, Μή σε παραπειθέτω τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενον ὀρχηθῆναί D
ποτε ταυτησὶ τῆς θέας. ἱπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς;
ἔστι παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δεξιώτατα πεποιημένη· λαβὼν
ἐπέξιθι τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἀκούεις
ὀρχηστάς; ἔα χαίρειν αὐτούς· ἀνδρικώτερον παρὰ
τοῖς Φαίαξιν ὀρχεῖται τὰ μειράκια· σὺ δ' ἔχεις
κιθαρῳδὸν τὸν Φήμιον καὶ ᾠδὸν τὸν Δημόδοκον.

than on my head,[1] and even at that age it was never on my own account and by my own wish, but three or four times, you must know, the governor who was my kinsman and near relative, "doing a favour to Patroclus," ordered me to attend; it was while I was still a private individual.[2] Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path [3] and now he is responsible for my quarrel with you. It was he who wrought in my soul and as it were carved therein what I did not then desire, though he was very zealous in implanting it, as though he were producing some charming characteristic; and boorishness he called dignity, lack of taste he called sobriety, and not yielding to one's desires or achieving happiness by that means he called manliness. I assure you, by Zeus and the Muses, that while I was still a mere boy my tutor would often say to me: "Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theatres lead you into the mistake of craving for such spectacles as these. Have you a passion for horse races? There is one in Homer,[4] very cleverly described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear them talking about dancers in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Phaeacians the youths dance in more manly fashion. And for citharode [5] you have Phemius; for singer Demodocus. Moreover

[1] Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 28.
[2] *i.e.* before he had been appointed Caesar. [3] cf. 352 c.
[4] The chariot race in *Iliad* 23.
[5] The citharode played and sang to the lyre: Phemius was at the court of Odysseus in Ithaca; Demodocus in Phaeacia.

ἔστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ τερπνότερα ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ὁρωμένων·

Δήλῳ δή ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν
Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα. 352

καὶ ἡ δενδρήεσσα τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσος καὶ τὰ τῆς Κίρκης σπήλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνου κῆπος· εὖ ἴσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὄψει τερπνότερον.

Ἆρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τοὔνομα ὑμῖν φράσω τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις ὢν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε; βάρβαρος νὴ θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος, ὁμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ξέρξην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἴκοσι προσκυνούμενον B
ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ' ἀδικήματος καὶ ὀνείδους, εὐνοῦχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῷμῷ τεθραμμένος πάππῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγοι διὰ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνη πρῶτον ἐμὲ καὶ μόνον τεκοῦσα μησὶν ὕστερον ὀλίγοις ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήτορος παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλαπεῖσα κόρη C
καὶ νέα, μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθην. οὗτος ἐξ ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων ἐς διδασκάλου μίαν ὁδόν· ἄλλην δ' οὔτ' αὐτὸς εἰδέναι

there are in Homer many plants more delightful to hear of than those that we can see: 'Even so did I once see the young shoot of a date palm springing up near the altar of Apollo on Delos.'[1] And consider the wooded island of Calypso and the caves of Circe and the garden of Alcinous; be assured that you will never see anything more delightful than these."

And now do you want me to tell you also my tutor's name and the nationality of the man who used to say these things? He was a barbarian, by the gods and goddesses; by birth he was a Scythian, and he had the same name[2] as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Greece. Moreover he was a eunuch, a word which, twenty months ago,[3] was constantly heard and revered, though it is now applied as an insult and a term of abuse. He had been brought up under the patronage of my grandfather, in order that he might instruct my mother[4] in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. And since she, after giving birth to me her first and only child, died a few months later, snatched away while she was still a young girl by the motherless maiden[5] from so many misfortunes that were to come, I was handed over to him after my seventh year. From that time he won me over to these views of his, and led me to school by one straight path; and since

[1] Odysseus thus refers to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6. 162.

[2] *i.e.* Mardonius; it was a Sophistic mannerism to use such a periphrasis instead of giving the name directly; see vol. i. *Introduction*, p. xi.

[3] Constantius was under the influence of the powerful eunuchs of his court; they had been expelled by Julian, but Mardonius was an exception to his class.

[4] Basilina. [5] Athene.

θέλων οὔτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ξυγχωρῶν ἐποίησεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαί με πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, σπεισώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀπέχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἠπίστατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφιξόμενον οὔτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτᾶν μέλλοιμι, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσαύτην D ἀρχήν, ὅσην ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, πολλὰ ὁμοῦ βιασάμενοι, πείσθητέ μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον. ἐῴκει γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος ἐθέλειν οὔτε ὁ διδοὺς τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὅ,τι φίλον ὑμῖν αὐτὸ ὀνομάζειν δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀληθῶς ἠρνεῖτο. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον ἔχει τε καὶ ἕξει. τυχὸν δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς εἰ προύγνω τοῦτο, πολλὴν ἂν ἐποιή- 353 σατο προμήθειαν, ὅπως ὅ,τι μάλιστα ὑμῖν φανείην κεχαρισμένος.

Εἶτα οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν εἴ τι πρότερον ἡμῖν ἄγροικον ἦθος ἐνετράφη; Ἦθος, φασί, δευτέρη φύσις· φύσει μάχεσθαι δ' ἔργον, ἐτῶν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἀφεῖναι παγχάλεπον ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐγγενομένην τῆς χαλεπότητος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἤδη πλείω τούτων ἐστίν. Εἶεν· ἀλλὰ τί παθὼν αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀκροᾶσθαι B περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτό σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰ ἄρξεις ἠπίστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, ὃν καὶ ὑμεῖς

neither he himself desired to know any other nor allowed me to travel by any other path, it is he who has caused me to be hated by all of you. However, if you agree, let us make a truce with him, you and I, and make an end of our quarrel. For he neither knew that I should visit you nor did he anticipate that, even supposing I was likely to come here, it would be as a ruler, and that too over so great an empire as the gods bestowed on me; though they did not do so, believe me, without using great compulsion both towards him who offered and him who accepted it. For neither of us had the air of being willing; since he who offered that honour or favour or whatever you may please to call it, was unwilling to bestow it, while he who received it was sincere in steadily refusing it. This matter, however, is and shall be as the gods will. But perhaps if my tutor had foreseen this he would have exercised much forethought to the end that I might, as far as possible, seem agreeable in your eyes.

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. "Well and good," you answer, "but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts? For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern." Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;

ὡς ὄντα μάλιστα αἰτιώτατον τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀρθῶς ποιοῦντες ξυλλοιδορεῖτέ μοι, καὶ τοῦτον δ', εὖ ἴστε, ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐξηπατημένον. ὀνόματα ἥκει πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμῳδούμενα, Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος. ἐκείνοις ὁ γέρων οὗτος πεισθεὶς ὑπ' C ἀφροσύνης, ἔπειτα ἐμὲ νέον εὑρών, ἐραστὴν λόγων, ἀνέπεισεν, ὡς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνων ζηλωτὴς γενοίμην, ἀμείνων ἔσομαι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἴσως οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ εἶναί μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἅμιλλαν· ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δέ· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ,τι ποιῶ· πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταθέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὀνειδίζω D μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν[1] ἁπάντων ἀδικημάτων· ὕπεισι δέ με ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξῆλθε ξένος, "Τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἢ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιος ἐκείνου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑνός, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἑτέρων, μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀδικίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ συγκολάζων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὁ 354 μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὗτος ἀναγορευέσθω νικηφόρος ἀρετῆς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἔπαινον καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρὴ λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθά τις κέκτη-

[1] πᾶσιν ἄδειαν Cobet, πᾶσι πᾶσαν ἄδειαν Hertlein, MSS.

and you also do well to help me to abuse him, since he is of all men most responsible for my way of life; though he too, you must know, had in his turn been misled by others. Theirs are names that you have often met when they are ridiculed in Comedy—I mean Plato and Socrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus. This old man in his folly was first convinced by them, and then he got hold of me, since I was young and loved literature, and convinced me that if I would emulate those famous men in all things I should become better, not perhaps than other men—for it was not with them that I had to compete—but certainly better than my former self. Accordingly, since I had no choice in the matter, I obeyed him, and now I am no longer able to change my character, though indeed I often wish I could, and I blame myself for not granting to all men impunity for all wrong-doing. But then the words of the Athenian stranger in Plato occur to my mind: "Though he who does no wrong himself is worthy of honour, he who does not allow the wicked to do wrong is worthy of more than twice as much honour. For whereas the former is responsible for one man only, the latter is responsible for many others besides himself, when he reports to the magistrates the wrong-doing of the rest. And he who as far as he can helps the magistrates to punish wrong-doers, himself being the great and powerful man in the city, let him I say be proclaimed as winner of the prize for virtue. And we ought to utter the same eulogy with regard to temperance also, and wisdom and all the other good qualities that such a man possesses, and which are such that he is able

ται, δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι."

Ταῦτα ἐδίδασκέ με νομίζων ἰδιώτην ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προύγνω ταύτην ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν B τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἣν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενος ἄρχων ἰδιώτου φαυλότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτόν, οὐδὲν δέον, ὑμῖν τῆς ἀγροικίας μεταδιδοὺς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καί με ἕτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνησθέντα ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅς φησι δεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλήθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς C ἀποβλέποντα κοσμῆται. μόνῳ οὖν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιτηδεύοντι νῦν τοῦτο πρὸς θάτερα περιέστη καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐν ὀνείδει. ἑπτὰ γάρ ἐσμεν οἵδε παρ' ὑμῖν ξένοι νεήλυδες, εἷς δὲ καὶ πολίτης ὑμέτερος, Ἑρμῇ φίλος καὶ ἐμοί, λόγων ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, οἷς οὐδέν ἐστι πρός τινα συμβόλαιον, οὐδ' ἄλλην ὁδὸν βαδίζομεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλιγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ D θέατρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλεέστατον τῶν ἔργων

not only to have them himself but also to impart them to other men." [1]

These things he taught me when he thought that I should be a private citizen. For he certainly did not foresee that there would be assigned to me by Zeus this lot in life to which the god has now brought me and has set me therein. But I, because I was ashamed to be less virtuous as a ruler than I had been as a private citizen, have unconsciously given you the benefit of my own boorishness, though there was no necessity. And another of Plato's laws has made me take thought for myself and so become hateful in your eyes: I mean the law which says that those who govern, and also the older men, ought to train themselves in respect for others and in self-control, in order that the masses may look to them and so order their own lives aright. Now since I alone, or rather in company with a few others, am now pursuing this course, it has had a very different result and has naturally become a reproach against me. For we here are only seven persons, strangers and newcomers in your city,—though indeed one of our number is a fellow-citizen of yours, a man dear to Hermes and to me, an excellent craftsman of discourses.[2] And we have business dealings with no man, nor do we go by any road that does not lead to the temples of the gods; and seldom, and then not all of us, do we go to the theatres, since we have adopted the most inglorious line of conduct and the most

[1] Plato, *Laws* 730 D.

[2] Julian refers to Libanius the famous rhetorician; with him were also Maximus of Ephesus, Priscus, Himerius and Oreibasius the physician.

καὶ ἐπονειδιστότατον[1] τοῦ βίου τέλος· ἐπιτρέψουσί μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπιπολαζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδειξαίμην· ἐπὶ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτοὺς ἐτάξαμεν, οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δέον ἀρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δεῖνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δεῖνα. Τί τοῦτο, ὦ μῶρε, πρὸς σέ; κοινωνεῖν ἐξὸν μετ' εὐνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφεὶς τὸ κέρδος ἔχθραν ἐπαναιρῇ, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ὀρθῶς οἴει 355
ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἐχρῆν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, ὁ δ' ἀδικῶν εἶτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφεὶς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἄχθος.

Ἐξὸν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ' ἑκάστῳ πράττειν ὅ, τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ B
δυνατὸς ᾖ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἦθος οἶμαι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἐλεύθερον λίαν· σὺ δὲ οὐ ξυνεὶς ἄρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἀξιοῖς; οὐδ' ἀπέβλεψας ὅση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὄνων ἐστὶν ἐλευθερία παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμήλων; ἄγουσί τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μισθωτοὶ διὰ τῶν στοῶν ὥσπερ τὰς νύμφας· οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στενωποὶ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὁδῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δήπου πεποίηνται, τῷ χρῆ-

[1] ἐπονειδιστότατον Hertlein suggests, ἐπονείδιστον MSS.

unpopular aim and end of life. The wise men of Greece will surely allow me to repeat some of the sayings current among you; for I have no better way of illustrating what I mean. We have stationed ourselves in the middle of the road, so highly do we prize the opportunity to collide with you and to be disliked, when we ought rather to try to please and flatter you. "So-and-so has oppressed So-and-so." "Fool! What business is it of yours? When it was in your power to win his good-will by becoming the partner in his wrong-doing, you first let the profit go, and incur hatred besides; and when you do this you think that you are doing right and are wise about your own affairs. You ought to have taken into account that, when men are wronged, not one of them ever blames the magistrates but only the man who has wronged him; but the man who seeks to do wrong and is prevented from it, far from blaming his proposed victim, turns his grievance against the magistrates.

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,

σθαι αὐταῖς τοὺς κανθηλίους, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο κόσμου τινὸς ἕνεκα πρόκεινται καὶ πολυτελείας, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας οἱ ὄνοι C βούλονται ταῖς στοαῖς, εἴργει δ' αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδενός, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέληται· οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἀξιοῖς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νεανίσκους ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρονεῖν ὅ, τι σοι φίλον, εἰ δὲ μή, φθέγγεσθαι ὅσων ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσῃς.[1] οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας εἰώθασι κωμάζειν, ἀεὶ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς πλέον.

Ἔδωκάν ποτε τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων Ῥωμαίοις Ταραντῖνοι δίκας, ὅτι μεθύοντες ἐν τοῖς D Διονυσίοις ὕβρισαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν. ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαιμονέστεροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ὅλον εὐπαθοῦντες ἐνιαυτόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ξένων πρέσβεων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξυβρίζοντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ γενείου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι χαράγματα. εὖ γε, ὦ πολῖται σώ- 356 φρονες, οἵ τε παίζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν παιζόντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὴν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐφραίνει. ταύτης ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι, καὶ εὖ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἐκεῖνό γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ζηλωτὸν εἴργειν καὶ κολάζειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλαστον. B παραιρεῖσθαι γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀποθραύειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἴ τις ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ λέγειν

[1] ἀκούσῃς Hertlein suggests, ἀκούσαις MSS.

but they are provided merely for show and as an extravagance; but in their independence the asses prefer to use the porticoes, and no one keeps them out of any one of these, for fear he should be robbing them of their independence; so independent is our city! And yet you think that even the charming youths in the city ought to keep quiet and, if possible, think whatever you like, but at any rate utter only what is agreeable for you to hear! But it is their independence that makes them hold revels; and this they always do handsomely, but during the festivals they revel more than usual."

Once upon a time the citizens of Tarentum paid to the Romans the penalty for this sort of jesting, seeing that, when drunk at the festival of Dionysus, they insulted the Roman ambassadors.[1] But you are in all respects more fortunate than the citizens of Tarentum, for you give yourselves up to pleasure throughout the whole year, instead of for a few days; and instead of foreign ambassadors you insult your own Sovereign, yes even the very hairs on his chin and the devices engraved on his coins.[2] Well done, O wise citizens, both ye who make such jests and ye who welcome and find profit in the jesters! For it is evident that uttering them gives pleasure to the former, while the latter rejoice to hear jests of this sort. I share your pleasure in this unanimity, and you do well to be a city of one mind in such matters, since it is not at all dignified or an enviable task to restrain and chastise the licentiousness of the young. For if one were to rob human beings of the power to

[1] In 272 B.C. the Romans took Tarentum.

[2] The people of Antioch ridiculed the Pagan symbols, such as the figures of Helios, the sun-god, which Julian had engraved on his coinage.

καὶ πράττειν ὅ,τι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὀρθῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τοῦτο εἰδότες, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ πάντα ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν ὦσι λίαν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἶτα ἐκείναις ξυνεχωρήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ παιδία, μή ποτε ὑμῖν ἀρχῆς πειρώμενα τραχυτέρας C
ἔπειτα ἀποφανθῇ δοῦλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεῖσθαι διδαχθῇ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς οὕτω κακῆς συνηθείας εὐλαβέστερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἀνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι σώφρονες καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμιοι λάθωσι διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες; ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἄγουσιν αὐτὰ δι᾽ ἡδονῆς, ὃ δὴ μακαριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμη- D
τον οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις. ἔνθεν οἶμαι συμβαίνει μάλα ὑμῖν εὐδαίμοσιν εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀρνουμένοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοις[1] πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἄτοποί τε ἂν εἴημεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορώντων οὕτως ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπεξιόντων ἀγανακτοίημεν καὶ χαλεπαίνοιμεν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι 357
ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χί, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἴνιγμα ξυνεῖναι χαλεπόν, τυχόντες δ᾽ ἡμεῖς

[1] ἀρξαμένοις before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀποστᾶσι τῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς.

do and say what they please, that would be to take away and curtail the first principle of independence. Therefore, since you knew that men ought to be independent in all respects, you acted quite rightly, in the first place when you permitted the women to govern themselves, so that you might profit by their being independent and licentious to excess; secondly, when you entrusted to them the bringing up of the children, for fear that if they had to experience any harsher authority they might later turn out to be slaves; and as they grew up to be boys might be taught first of all to respect their elders, and then under the influence of this bad habit might show too much reverence for the magistrates, and finally might have to be classed not as men but as slaves; and becoming temperate and well-behaved and orderly might be, before they knew it, altogether corrupted. Then what effect have the women on the children? They induce them to reverence the same things as they do by means of pleasure, which is, it seems, the most blessed thing and the most highly honoured, not only by men but by beasts also. It is for this reason, I think, that you are so very happy, because you refuse every form of slavery; first you begin by refusing slavery to the gods, secondly to the laws, and thirdly to me who am the guardian of the laws. And I should indeed be eccentric if, when the gods suffer the city to be so independent and do not chastise her, I should be resentful and angry. For be assured that the gods have shared with me in the disrespect that has been shown to me in your city.

"The *Chi*," say the citizens, "never harmed the city in any way, nor did the *Kappa*." Now the meaning of this riddle which your wisdom has

ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν
ἀρχὰς ὀνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δ'
ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστόν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον.
ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. B
ἓν μόνον ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι
με καίσαρα ποιήσας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν· ὡς τά γε
ἄλλα ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν
δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνσταντίων πειραθῆναι, μᾶλλον
δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ
ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ
δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας εἵλετο τὴν ἔχθραν, εἶτα ἡμῖν
οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶνα λίαν ἐβρά-
βευσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος C
φίλος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἕξειν με πρὶν ἐχθρὸν
γενέσθαι. τί οὖν οἴεσθέ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν
ἐγκωμίοις, ὃς ἄχθομαι τοῖς λοιδορουμένοις αὐτῷ;
Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ
τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης,
ἢ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμισηνοὶ
Χριστὸν ἐπόθουν οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις
τῶν Γαλιλαίων; ἐλύπησα δ' ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμισηνῶν
πώποτε; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγου δέω D
φάναι πάντας, τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν
δῆμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἄχθεταί μοι τῷ πλείστῳ
μέρει, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπας ἀθεότητα προελόμενος,

invented is hard to understand, but I obtained interpreters from your city and I was informed that these are the first letters of names, and that the former is intended to represent Christ, the latter Constantius. Bear with me then, if I speak frankly. In one thing Constantius did harm you, in that when he had appointed me as Caesar he did not put me to death. Now for the rest may the gods grant to you alone out of all the many citizens of Rome to have experience of the avarice of many a Constantius, or I should say rather, of the avarice of his friends. For the man was my cousin and dear to me ; but after he had chosen enmity with me instead of friendship, and then the gods with the utmost benevolence arbitrated our contention with one another, I proved myself a more loyal friend to him than he had expected to find me before I became his enemy. Then why do you think that you are annoying me by your praises of him, when I am really angry with those who slander him? But as for Christ you love him, you say, and adopt him as the guardian of your city instead of Zeus and the god of Daphne and Calliope[1] who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaeans?[2] But what citizens of Emesa have I ever annoyed? I have however annoyed many of you, I may almost say all, the Senate, the wealthy citizens, the common people. The latter indeed, since they have chosen atheism, hate me for the most part, or rather all of them hate me because they see that I adhere to the ordinances

[1] There was a statue of Calliope in the market-place at Antioch.

[2] The people of Emesa burned the Christian churches and spared only one, which they converted into a temple of Dionysus.

ὅτι τοῖς πατρίοις ὁρᾷ τῆς ἁγιστείας θεσμοῖς προσκείμενον, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοῦ πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιού- 358
των ἧττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων. εἶτα οὐκ εἰκότως ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορῶ τοσαύτας ἀπεχθείας λαβὰς παρασχόντος;

Ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων πώγωνος οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὀντινοῦν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνδρείᾳ μέγα φρονούντων ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι, προσιὼν τῇδε τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ πλουσίᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήβους ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ προ- B
αστείῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐπί τινα δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποιῆσθαι· καὶ θᾶσσον ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου προῆγεν ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχεραίνων ὡς μηνυτὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπείσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὄντος δ' ἐν τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ διαποροῦντος ἠρέμα καὶ ἐρυθριῶντος, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος προσδραμών, Ὦ ξένε, ἔφη, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δ' οὗτος C
ἀπελεύθερος Πομπηίου, κεκτημένος οὐσίαν πολλὴν πάνυ· μέτρον δ' αὐτῆς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς

of the sacred rites which our forefathers observed; the powerful citizens hate me because they are prevented from selling everything at a high price; but all of you hate me on account of the dancers and the theatres. Not because I deprive others of these pleasures, but because I care less for things of that sort than for frogs croaking in a pond.[1] Then is it not natural for me to accuse myself, when I have furnished so many handles for your hatred?

Cato the Roman,[2] however,—how he wore his beard I do not know,[3] but he deserves to be praised in comparison with anyone of those who pride themselves on their temperance and nobility of soul and on their courage above all,—he, I say, once visited this populous and luxurious and wealthy city; and when he saw the youths in the suburb drawn up in full array, and with them the magistrates, as though for some military display, he thought your ancestors had made all those preparations in his honour. So he quickly dismounted from his horse and came forward, though at the same time he was vexed with those of his friends who had preceded him for having informed the citizens that Cato was approaching, and so induced them to hasten forth. And while he was in this position, and was slightly embarrassed and blushing, the master of the gymnasium ran to meet him and called out "Stranger, where is Demetrius?" Now this Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey, who had acquired a very large fortune; and if you want to know the amount of it,—for I suppose that in all

[1] A proverb to express complete indifference.

[2] The anecdote which follows is told by Plutarch in his *Cato the Younger* and also in his *Pompeius*.

[3] Julian must have known that in Cato's day the Romans never wore beards.

ταύτην μάλιστα ὡρμῆσθαι τὴν ἀκοήν· ἐγὼ τὸν εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῷ πεποίηται συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ βίβλων πολλῶν[1] εἰργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστους D
νέῳ φιληκόῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ γῆρας ἐπανάγειν αὖθις εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιληκοΐαν τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους· ὅθεν οἶμαι συμβαίνει νέους καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐξ ἴσης εἶναι φιλομύθους. εἶεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπήντησε τῷ γυμνασιάρχῳ βούλεσθε φράσω; μή με λοιδορεῖν ὑπολάβητε τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ἐμός.
εἴ τις ἀφῖκται περιφερομένη καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀκοὴ 359
Χαιρωνέως ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, ὃ δὴ λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων φιλόσοφον· οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφικόμην μέν, ηὐξάμην δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας κοινωνῆσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν. ταῦτα οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἔφρασεν, ὡς ὁ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὐδέν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον οἷά τις ἔμπληκτος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος, Ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως, ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο.

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσητε, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ πάσχω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἀγριώτερος ἐκείνου καὶ B
θρασύτερος τοσούτῳ καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅσον οἱ Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαίων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε τεχθεὶς ἐγγὺς ἦλθε γήρως ἅμα τοῖς πολίταις τρεφόμενος· ἐμοὶ δὲ Κελτοὶ καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ δρυμὸς Ἑρκύνιος ἔμελεν ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦντι, καὶ διέτριψα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, ὥσπερ τις κυνηγέτης

[1] ἐκ βίβλων πολλῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν MSS.

that I am now telling you are most anxious to hear this,—I will tell you who has related the story. Damophilus of Bithynia has written compositions of this sort, and in them, by culling anecdotes from many books, he has produced tales that give the greatest delight to anyone who loves to listen to gossip, whether he be young or old. For old age usually revives in the elderly that love of gossip which is natural to the young; and this is, I think, the reason why both the old and the young are equally fond of stories. Well then, to return to Cato. Do you want me to tell you how he greeted the master of the gymnasium? Do not imagine that I am slandering your city; for the story is not my own.[1] If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea,[2] who belongs to that worthless class of men who are called by impostors philosophers,—I myself never attained to that class though in my ignorance I claimed to be a member of it and to have part in it,—well he, as I was saying, related that Cato answered not a word, but only cried aloud like a man stricken with madness and out of his senses, "Alas for this ill-fated city!" and took himself off.

Therefore do not be surprised if I now feel towards you as I do, for I am more uncivilised than he, and more fierce and headstrong in proportion as the Celts are more so than the Romans. He was born in Rome and was nurtured among Roman citizens till he was on the threshold of old age. But as for me, I had to do with Celts and Germans and the Hercynian forest[3] from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

[1] cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 299 c, note. [2] Plutarch.
[3] cf. Caesar, *Gallic War*, 6. 24.

ἀγρίοις ὁμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενος θηρίοις, ἤθεσιν C
ἐντυγχάνων οὔτε θωπεύειν οὔτε κολακεύειν εἰδόσιν, ἁπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσι προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων τροφὴν ἥ τε ἐν μειρακίοις ὁδὸς διὰ τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτηδείων δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν οἰομένοις ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις[1] εἶναι, ἥ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν αὐτουργία παρὰ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις καὶ θυμικωτάτοις τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου τὴν γαμηλίαν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν μεθυδότην Διόνυσον γάμου τε ἕνεκα καὶ παιδοποιίας οἴνου τε ὁπόσης ἑκάστῳ δυνατὸν πόσεως ἴσασι μόνον. ἀσέλγεια δ' οὐκ ἔστιν D
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐδὲ ὕβρις, οὐδὲ ἕλκει τις εἴσω τῆς σκηνῆς τὸν κόρδακα.

Λέγεταί τοι μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσέ τις Καππαδόκης φυγάς, ἐν τῇ παρ' ὑμῖν τραφεὶς πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχόῳ· γνωρίζετε δήπουθεν ὃν λέγω· μαθὼν ὅπου καὶ ἔμαθεν, ὡς οὐ δέον ὁμιλεῖν γυναιξί, μειρακίοις δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθών, ἐπειδὴ 360
παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖσε βασιλέα πρῴην ἀφίκετο, μνήμῃ τῶν τῇδε πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαθὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τέλος ὡς ἐνεδέησεν ἔτι κοτυλιστοῦ·

[1] ἐπιτηδείων—οἰομένοις—εὐδαιμονεστάτοις Hertlein suggests, ἐπιτηδείῳ δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτῳ. MSS.

there, like some huntsman who associates with and is entangled among wild beasts. There I met with temperaments that know not how to pay court or flatter, but only how to behave simply and frankly to all men alike. Then after my nurture in childhood, my path as a boy took me through the discourses of Plato and Aristotle, which are not at all suited for the reading of communities who think that on account of their luxury they are the happiest of men. Then I had to work hard myself among the most warlike and high-spirited of all nations, where men have knowledge of Aphrodite, goddess of Wedlock, only for the purpose of marrying and having children, and know Dionysus the Drink-Giver, only for the sake of just so much wine as each can drink at a draught. And in their theatres no licentiousness or insolence exists, nor does any man dance the cordax on their stage.

A story is told of them that not long ago a certain Cappadocian was exiled from here to that place, a man who had been brought up in your city in the house of the goldsmith—you know of course whom I mean,—and had learned, as he naturally did learn there, that one ought not to have intercourse with women but to pay attentions to youths. And when, after doing and suffering here I know not what, he went to the court of the king in that country, he took with him to remind him of your habits here a number of dancers and other such delights from this city; and then finally since he still needed a cotylist[1]—you know the word and the thing too—he

[1] We do not know what sort of performance was given by a cotylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; κοτύλη = a pint-cup.

τοῦτο δ' ὑμεῖς ἴστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τοῦτον ἐνθένδε ἐκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς παρ' ὑμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν κοτυλιστὴν ἠγνόησαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα τὰ B βασίλεια, τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι[1] ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν τέχνην εἴασαν οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς ἐοικέναι. καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ καταγελαστότατον τὸ θέατρον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγοι πολλῶν κατεγέλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνθάδε γελοῖος ὑμῖν ἅπασι τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν C εἴην ἄδικος εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργοιμι, διαφερόντως ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κελτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὕτω με δι' ὁμοιότητα τρόπων ἠγάπησαν, ὥστε ἐτόλμησαν οὐχ ὅπλα μόνον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκαν πολλά, καὶ παραιτούμενον ὀλίγου καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἑτοίμως ὑπήκουσαν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες ἀνδρεῖον, συνετόν, δίκαιον, οὐ πολέμῳ μόνον ὁμιλῆσαι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνῃ D χρήσασθαι δεξιόν, εὐπρόσιτον, πρᾷον· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεδώκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι παρ' ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέτραπται· σύνοιδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέπων ἐμαυτῷ οὔτε ἑκὼν οὔτε ἄκων· εἶτα, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πώγωνός μου χρὴ πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χῖ, πόθος δὲ ὑμᾶς εἴσεισι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ ὑμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἱ

[1] ἐπιδείκνυσθαι Hertlein would add.

invited him also from here, because of his longing and love for the austere mode of life that prevails with you. Now the Celts never made the acquaintance of the cotylist, since he was at once admitted into the palace; but when the dancers began to display their art in the theatre, the Celts left them alone because they thought that they were like men stricken with nympholepsy. And the theatre seemed to the men in that country highly ridiculous, just as it does to me; but whereas the Celts were a few ridiculing many, I here along with a few others seem absurd in every way to all of you.

This is a fact which I do not resent. And indeed it would be unjust of me not to make the best of the present state of things, after having so greatly enjoyed the life among the Celts. For they loved me so much, on account of the similarity of our dispositions, that not only did they venture to take up arms on my behalf, but they gave me large sums of money besides; and when I would have declined it, they almost forced me to take it, and in all things readily obeyed me. And what was most wonderful of all, a great report of me travelled thence to your city, and all men proclaimed loudly that I was brave, wise and just, not only terrible to encounter in war, but also skilful in turning peace to account, easy of access and mild-tempered. But now you have sent them tidings from here in return, that in the first place the affairs of the whole world have been turned upside down by me—though indeed I am not conscious of turning anything upside down, either voluntarily or involuntarily; secondly, that I ought to twist ropes from my beard, and that I war against the *Chi* and that you begin to regret the *Kappa.*

πολιοῦχοι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δοῖεν,
ὅτι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυγείτονας ἐσυκοφαν- 361
τήσατε πόλεις ἱερὰς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἐμοί, ὡς δὴ
παρ' αὐτῶν εἴη τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ξυντεθέντα, ὃν εὖ οἶδ'
ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐκεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἱέας,
οἳ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη,
τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας,
ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, ὃ δὴ δέδοται παρ' ἐμοῦ
πρῴην, οὕτως ἐπαρθέντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι
γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθεῖν
τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἢ βουλομένῳ B
μοι ἦν.

Τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα· πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἄρτι
τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὓς ἡ πραότης ἡμῶν
ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡσυχάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα
τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιούμενοι τὰ
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
λειψάνων ἠγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος C
τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτε μὴ τὸ
πῦρ ἐνεῖσαν[1] ἐκεῖνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ξένων
φρικῶδες, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἡδονὴν παρασχόν,

[1] ἐνεῖσαν Hertlein suggests, ἔδειξαν MSS.

Now may the guardian gods of this city grant you a double allowance of the *Kappa*![1] For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs[2] of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

But now consider your own behaviour. Many of you overturned the altars of the gods which had only just been erected, and with difficulty did my indulgent treatment teach you to keep quiet. And when I sent away the body from Daphne,[3] some of you, in expiation of your conduct towards the gods, handed over the shrine of the god of Daphne to those who were aggrieved about the relics of the body, and the rest of you, whether by accident or on purpose, hurled against the shrine that fire which made the strangers who were visiting your city shudder, but gave pleasure to the mass of

[1] *i.e.* may they have two such rulers as Constantius.

[2] *i.e.* the sepulchres over which the Christian churches were built; cf. 357 C, note.

[3] Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had been buried in the grove of Daphne, and the priests of Apollo retired from it. When the church over his tomb was demolished by Julian he removed the body of St. Babylas to Antioch, and that night (October 22. 362 A.D.) the people of Antioch burned the temple of Apollo which Julian had restored. Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos, *De S. Babyla et contra Julianum*; and Libanius, *Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne.*

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθὲν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελούμενον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν νεὼν ὁ θεός, ἐπεσήμηνε γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν Ἥλιον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι βούλομαι καὶ ἄλλης ἀπεχθείας ἐμῆς, ἔπειτα, ὅπερ εἴωθα ποιεῖν D ἐπιεικῶς, ὀνειδίσαι ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ κατηγορῆσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γάρ που μηνὶ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀριθμουμένῳ· Λῶον οἶμαι τοῦτον ὑμεῖς προσαγορεύετε· τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριός ἐστιν ἑορτή, καὶ ἔδει σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔδραμον, οἰόμενος ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσειν. εἶτα ἀνέπλαττον παρ' ἐμαυτῷ πομπήν, ὥσπερ ὀνείρατα ὁρῶν, ἱερεῖα καὶ 362 σπονδὰς καὶ χοροὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπέστατα μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῇ δ' ἐσθῆτι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένους. ὡς δὲ εἴσω παρῆλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμιάματα κατέλαβον οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερεῖον. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐθαύμασα καὶ ᾤμην ἔξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι, περιμένειν δ' ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὴ τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερέα, B τὸ σύνθημα παρ' ἐμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠρόμην, τί μέλλει θύειν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσα τῷ θεῷ, ὁ

your citizens and was ignored and is still ignored by your Senate. Now, in my opinion, even before that fire the god had forsaken the temple, for when I first entered it his holy image gave me a sign thereof. I call mighty Helios to bear me witness of this before all unbelievers. And now I wish to remind you of yet another reason for your hatred of me, and then to abuse myself—a thing which I usually do fairly well—and both to accuse and blame myself with regard to that hatred.

In the tenth month, according to your reckoning, —Loos I think you call it—there is a festival founded by your forefathers in honour of this god, and it was your duty to be zealous in visiting Daphne. Accordingly I hastened thither from the temple of Zeus Kasios,[1] thinking that at Daphne, if anywhere, I should enjoy the sight of your wealth and public spirit. And I imagined in my own mind the sort of procession it would be, like a man seeing visions in a dream, beasts for sacrifice, libations, choruses in honour of the god, incense, and the youths of your city there surrounding the shrine, their souls adorned with all holiness and themselves attired in white and splendid raiment. But when I entered the shrine I found there no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to inquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, "I have

[1] Kasios was the name of a mountain near Antioch where there was a temple of Zeus.

ἱερεὺς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἥκω φέρων οἴκοθεν τῷ θεῷ χῆνα ἱερεῖον, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἠὐτρέπισται.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ φιλαπεχθήμων ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀνεπιεικεῖς πάνυ διελέχθην λόγους, ὧν ἴσως οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ νῦν μνημονεῦσαι. "Δεινόν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τὴν τοσαύτην πόλιν οὕτω τῶν θεῶν ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν, ὡς οὐδεμία παροικοῦσα ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ Πόντου κώμη· μυρίους κλήρους C γῆς ἰδίας κεκτημένη, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπιστάσης ἑορτῆς ἐνιαυσίου, ἐπειδὴ διεσκέδασαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν νεφέλην, μίαν ὄρνιν[1] ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσάγει, ἣν ἐχρῆν μάλιστα μὲν καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς βουθυτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥᾴδιον, ἕνα γε[2] κοινῇ πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ ταῦρον. ὑμῶν δ' ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ μὲν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα D καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς χαίρει δαπανώμενος, καὶ εὖ οἶδα πολλοὺς ὑμῶν πλεῖστα εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοῦ Μαϊουμᾶ χρήματα ἀπολέσαντας, ὑπὲρ δ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς θύει οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἡ πόλις κοινῇ, μόνος δ' ὁ ἱερεύς, ὃν οἶμαι δικαιότερον ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ' ὑμῶν οἴκαδε ἀπιέναι μερίδας ἔχοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύσει προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ εἰκότα· πρέπει δ' οἶμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ἰδίᾳ καὶ 363

[1] *μίαν ὄρνιν* Hertlein suggests, *ὄρνιν* MSS.
[2] *ἕνα γε* Hertlein suggests, *ἕνα* MSS.

brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations."

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. "It is a terrible thing," I said, "that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the borders of the Pontus.[1] Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city's welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one

[1] cf. Themistius 332 D.

δημοσίᾳ· νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἔνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, καὶ τρέφουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖναι τοὺς πένητας πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δεομένους· ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον οἶμαι τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ὑπολαμβάνετε· πρόσεισι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν δεομένων B τοῖς ἱεροῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οἶμαι πόθεν διατραφῇ. καὶ γενέθλια μέν τις ἑστιῶν ἱκανῶς παρασκευάζει δεῖπνον καὶ ἄριστον, ἐπὶ πολυτελῆ τράπεζαν τοὺς φίλους παραλαμβάνων· ἐνιαυσίου δ' ἑορτῆς οὔσης οὐδεὶς ἐκόμισεν ἔλαιον εἰς λύχνον τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ σπονδὴν οὐδ' ἱερεῖον οὐδὲ λιβανωτόν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν[1] οὐκ οἶδα, ὅπως ἄν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς C ὁρῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποδέξαιτο, νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε μηδὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκειν."

Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησέ μου τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς μήποτε ὤφελεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, ὃ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζάλῃ τρέψας ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν κρατούντων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὼ χεῖρε βιασάμενος. ὑμῖν δ' ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοήτως. ἐχρῆν γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνεισελθόντων ἐμοί, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδ' ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ προπετείας ἐγὼ καὶ D

[1] μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, μέν MSS.

of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galilaeans, and when your wives feed the poor at your expense they inspire a great admiration for godlessness in those who are in need of such bounty—and of such sort are, I think, the great majority of mankind,—while as for yourselves you think that you are doing nothing out of the way when in the first place you are careless of the honours due to the gods, and not one of those in need goes near the temples—for there is nothing there, I think, to feed them with—and yet when any one of you gives a birthday feast he provides a dinner and a breakfast without stint and welcomes his friends to a costly table; when, however, the annual festival arrived no one furnished olive oil for a lamp for the god, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense. Now I do not know how any good man could endure to see such things in your city, and for my part I am sure that it is displeasing to the gods also."

This is what I remember to have said at the time, and the god bore witness to the truth of my words—would that he had not!—when he forsook your suburb which for so long he had protected, and again during that time of storm and stress[1] when he turned in the wrong direction the minds of those who were then in power and forced their hands. But I acted foolishly in making myself odious to you. For I ought to have remained silent as, I think, did many of those who came here with me, and I ought not to have been meddlesome or found fault. But

[1] Julian probably alludes to the riot which took place at Antioch on account of the famine in 354, when the populace killed Theophilus the Governor and were punished for the murder by Constantius.

τῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομιστέον ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμοὶ τότε εἰρῆσθαι τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ' οἶμαι δόξαν θηρεύων εὐλαβείας τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀδόλου· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οἶμαι παγγέλοιος κολακεία· πολλὰ ὑμῶν μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοίνυν ἐργάζεσθέ 364
με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἴχνεσιν ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑμῶν κατέδραμον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαριεντίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, πάντες οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξὺν ἡδονῇ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἀκροασάμενος, μετέχων τῆς ἴσης ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμο- B
νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἴρηται οὖν ὑμῖν δι' ὅλης καὶ ἠκρόαται τῆς πόλεως ὁπόσα εἰς τουτονὶ πέπαικται τὸν φαῦλον πώγωνα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ὑμῖν καλὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξοντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίον ὑμῖν, ὁποῖον ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ μὲν ζῆτε, ποθεῖτε δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφημιῶν, ἃς ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεχέατέ μου C
παίζοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις, ἐμαυτοῦ προσκατ-

I poured down all these reproaches on your heads to no purpose, owing to my headlong temper and a ridiculous desire to flatter,—for it is surely not to be believed that out of goodwill towards you I spoke those words to you then; but I was, I think, hunting after a reputation for piety towards the gods and for sincere good-will towards you, which is, I think, the most absurd form of flattery. Therefore you treat me justly when you defend yourselves against those criticisms of mine and choose a different place for making your defence. For I abused you under the god's statue near his altar and the footprints of the holy image, in the presence of few witnesses; but you abused me in the market-place, in the presence of the whole populace, and with the help of citizens who were capable of composing such pleasant witticisms as yours. For you must be well aware that all of you, those who uttered the sayings about me and those who listened to them, are equally responsible; and he who listened with pleasure to those slanders, since he had an equal share of the pleasure, though he took less trouble than the speaker, must share the blame.

Throughout the whole city, then, you both uttered and listened to all the jests that were made about this miserable beard of mine, and about one who has never displayed to you nor ever will display any charm of manner. For he will never display among you the sort of life that you always live and desire to see also among those who govern you. Next with respect to the slanders which both in private and publicly you have poured down on my head, when you ridiculed me in anapaestic verse, since I too have accused myself I permit you to employ that

ἠγορήσας ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω χρῆσθαι μετὰ μείζονος αὐτῷ παρρησίας, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦτο πώποτε δεινὸν ἐργάσομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων ἢ δῶν ἢ ἀποκλείων ἢ κολάζων. πῶς γάρ; ὅς, ἐπείπερ ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων σωφρονοῦντα, φαυλότατον ἰδεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀηδέστατον, οὐδὲν ἐπέδειξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστῆναι D τῆς πόλεως[1] ἔγνωκα καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, πεπεισμένος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι πάντως ἐκείνοις ἀρέσω, πρὸς οὓς πορεύομαι, κρίνων δ' αἱρετώτερον, εἰ διαμάρτοιμι τοῦ δόξαι γοῦν ἐκείνοις καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἐν μέρει μεταδοῦναι πᾶσι τῆς ἀηδίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην ἀποκναῖσαι πόλιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δυσωδίας τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς σωφροσύνης.

Ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγρὸν οὐδὲ κῆπον ἐπρίατο 365
παρ' ὑμῖν οὐδὲ οἰκίαν ᾠκοδόμησεν οὐδ' ἔγημε παρ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἐξέδωκεν εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ ἠράσθημεν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν καλῶν, οὐδ' ἐζηλώσαμεν Ἀσσύριον πλοῦτον οὐδ' ἐνειμάμεθα τὰς προστασίας οὐδὲ παραδυναστεύειν ἡμῖν ἠνεσχόμεθά τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει οὐδ' ἐπείσαμεν τὸν δῆμον εἰς παρασκευὰς δείπνων ἢ θεάτρων, ὃν οὕτως ἐποιήσαμεν τρυφᾶν, ὥστε ἄγων σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τοὺς ἀνα- B παίστους εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους αὐτῷ τῆς εὐθηνίας ξυνέθηκεν, οὐδ' ἐπεγράψαμεν χρυσίον οὐδὲ ᾐτήσαμεν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ηὐξήσαμεν φόρους· ἀλλὰ

[1] τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τὴν πόλιν MSS.

method with even greater frankness; for I shall never on that account do you any harm, by slaying or beating or fettering or imprisoning you or punishing you in any way. Why indeed should I? For now that in showing you myself, in company with my friends, behaving with sobriety,—a most sorry and unpleasing sight to you—I have failed to show you any beautiful spectacle, I have decided to leave this city and to retire from it; not indeed because I am convinced that I shall be in all respects pleasing to those to whom I am going, but because I judge it more desirable, in case I should fail at least to seem to them an honourable and good man, to give all men in turn a share of my unpleasantness,[1] and not to annoy this happy city with the evil odour, as it were, of my moderation and the sobriety of my friends.

For not one of us has bought a field or garden in your city or built a house or married or given in marriage among you, or fallen in love with any of your handsome youths, or coveted the wealth of Assyria, or awarded court patronage;[2] nor have we allowed any of those in office to exercise influence over us, or induced the populace to get up banquets or theatrical shows; nay rather we have procured for them such luxurious ease that, since they have respite from want, they have had leisure to compose their anapaests against the very author of their well-being. Again, I have not levied gold money or demanded silver money or increased the tribute; but in

[1] Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 153 *ἀποκναίει γὰρ ἀηδίᾳ καὶ ἀναισθησίᾳ.*

[2] *προστασία* is sometimes used of the Imperial protection of a municipal guild, and that may be Julian's meaning here.

πρὸς τοῖς ἐλλείμμασιν ἀνεῖται πᾶσι τῶν εἰθισμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἶμαι δ' ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ[1] μέτριον ἔχω ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ θεούς, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, τὸν εἰσαγγελέα, καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα, διότι γέρων ὢν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἠρέμα τὰ πρόσω διὰ δυστροπίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπισθεν, C ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἄβαντας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκείνου φαυλοτέρους ἄνδρας οἴκοι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε δὲ νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δέ μοι θεῖος καὶ ὁμώνυμος οὐ δικαιότατα μὲν ὑμῶν προύστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ ξυνεῖναι ἡμῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ξυμπράττειν; οὐ προμηθέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξῆλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις τῆς πόλεως; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα καλά, πρᾳότης ἀρχόντων μετὰ σωφροσύνης, ᾠόμεθά τε D ὑμῖν ἱκανῶς διὰ τούτων καλοὶ φανεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἥ τε βαθύτης ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενείου καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ παραβάλλειν τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ τὸ ἀξιοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνοὺς καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἁπάντων ἡ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἡμῶν ἀσχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἴργειν τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἑκόντες ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366
οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ῥᾴδιον ἐν γήρᾳ μεταθεμένῳ διαφυγεῖν τὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰκτῖνος μῦθον. λέγεται γάρ τοι τὸν ἰκτῖνα φωνὴν ἔχοντα παραπλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρνισιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ χρεμετίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ γενναῖοι τῶν ἵππων, εἶτα τοῦ

[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.

addition to the arrears, one-fifth of the regular taxes has been in all cases remitted. Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.[1] And I have with me at my court two or three men also who are not at all inferior to him, nay four or even five now, if you please.

And as for my uncle and namesake,[2] did he not govern you most justly, so long as the gods allowed him to remain with me and to assist me in my work? Did he not with the utmost foresight administer all the business of the city? For my part I thought these were admirable things, I mean mildness and moderation in those who govern, and I supposed that by practising these I should appear admirable in your eyes. But since the length of my beard is displeasing to you, and my unkempt locks, and the fact that I do not put in an appearance at the theatres and that I require men to be reverent in the temples; and since more than all these things my constant attendance at trials displeases you and the fact that I try to banish greed of gain from the market-place, I willingly go away and leave your city to you. For when a man changes his habits in his old age it is not easy, I think, for him to escape the fate that is described in the legend about the kite. The story goes that the kite once had a note like that of other birds, but it aimed at neighing like a high-spirited

[1] *Iliad* 2. 542. [2] Julian, Count of the East.

μὲν ἐπιλαθόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἑλεῖν ἱκανῶς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαυλοτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὃ δὴ καὶ B
αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγροικίας τε ἅμα καὶ δεξιότητος ἁμαρτεῖν. ἤδη γάρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ συνορᾶτε, πλησίον ἐσμὲν ἐθελόντων θεῶν,

Εὖτέ μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνοις ἀναμεμίξονται τρίχες,

ὁ Τήιος ἔφη ποιητής.

Εἶεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου καὶ πολιούχου, ὑπόσχετε λόγον. ἠδίκησθέ τι παρ' ἐμοῦ κοινῇ πώποτε ἢ καὶ[1] ἰδίᾳ, καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι C
φανερῶς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαίστων ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔλκουσι καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδοροῦντες; ἢ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἵνα με καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰόντες ἀμύνησθε; τίς οὖν ὑμῖν ἐστιν αἰτία τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματος καὶ τῆς ἀπεχθείας; ἐγὼ γὰρ εὖ οἶδα δεινὸν οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D
οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲν φλαῦρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσας, ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι προσήκειν, καὶ μεταδοὺς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους. ἀδύνατον δ' εὖ ἴστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

[1] ἢ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

horse; then since it forgot its former note and could not quite attain to the other sound, it was deprived of both, and hence the note it now utters is less musical than that of any other bird. This then is the fate that I am trying to avoid, I mean failing to be either really boorish or really accomplished. For already, as you can see for yourselves, I am, since Heaven so wills, near the age "When on my head white hairs mingle with black," as the poet of Teos said.[1]

Enough of that. But now, in the name of Zeus, God of the Market-place and Guardian of the City, render me account of your ingratitude. Were you ever wronged by me in any way, either all in common or as individuals, and is it because you were unable to avenge yourselves openly that you now assail me with abuse in your market-places in anapaestic verse, just as comedians drag Heracles and Dionysus on the stage and make a public show of them? [2] Or can you say that, though I refrained from any harsh conduct towards you, I did not refrain from speaking ill of you, so that you, in your turn, are defending yourselves by the same methods? What, I ask, is the reason of your antagonism and your hatred of me? For I am very sure that I had done no terrible or incurable injury to any one of you, either separately, as individuals, or to your city as a whole; nor had I uttered any disparaging word, but I had even praised you, as I thought I was bound to do, and had bestowed on you certain advantages, as was natural for one who desires, as far as he can, to benefit many men. But it is impossible, as you know well, both to remit all their taxes to the taxpayers

[1] Anacreon *fr.* 77, Bergk. [2] cf. *Oration* 7. 204 B.

ρουσι συγχωρεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367
εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανῶ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξεων, ὅσας εἴωθεν ἡ βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὑμῖν δ' ἀνεὶς τῶν εἰσφορῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἆρ' οὐκ αἰνίγματι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔοικεν;

Ἀλλ' ὁπόσα μὲν κοινῇ πρὸς πάντας πεποίηται τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, πρέποι ἂν σιωπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίην ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοπρόσωπος ἐπαί- B
νους ἄδειν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλάμενος πολλὰς καὶ ἀσελγεστάτας ὕβρεις καταχέαι· τὰ δὲ ἰδίᾳ μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεποιημένα προπετῶς μὲν καὶ ἀνοήτως, ἥκιστα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄξια ἀχαριστεῖσθαι, πρέποι ἂν οἶμαι προφέρειν ὥσπερ τινὰ ἐμὰ ὀνείδη τοσούτῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χαλεπώτερα, τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς ἀναφροδισίας, ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερα ὄντα τῇ ψυχῇ μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπῄνουν C
ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετό μοι φιλοτίμως οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὴν πεῖραν οὐδ' ὅπως ἔξομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνθυμηθείς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἑλλήνων παῖδας, ἐμαυτὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστί μοι Θρᾴκιον, Ἕλληνα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσομεν. ἓν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἔστω μοι τῆς προπετείας ὄνειδος. ἔπειτα πρεσβευσαμένοις ὑμῖν παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἀφικομένοις ὑστέροις οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων D

and to give everything to those who are accustomed to receive gifts. Therefore when it is seen that I have diminished none of the public subscriptions which the imperial purse is accustomed to contribute, but have remitted not a few of your taxes, does not this business seem like a riddle?

However, it becomes me to be silent about all that I have done for all my subjects in common, lest it should seem that I am purposely as it were singing my praises with my own lips, and that too after announcing that I should pour down on my own head many most opprobrious insults. But as for my actions with respect to you as individuals, which, though the manner of them was rash and foolish, nevertheless did not by any means deserve to be repaid by you with ingratitude, it would, I think, be becoming for me to bring them forward as reproaches against myself; and these reproaches ought to be more severe than those I uttered before, I mean those that related to my unkempt appearance and my lack of charm, inasmuch as they are more genuine since they have especial reference to the soul. I mean that before I came here I used to praise you in the strongest possible terms, without waiting to have actual experience of you, nor did I consider how we should feel towards one another; nay, since I thought that you were sons of Greeks, and I myself, though my family is Thracian, am a Greek in my habits, I supposed that we should regard one another with the greatest possible affection. This example of my rashness must therefore be counted as one reproach against me. Next, after you had sent an embassy to me—and it arrived not only later than all the other embassies, but even later than

τῶν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτῳ, πολὺ μὲν ἀνῆκα χρυσίον, πολὺ δ᾽ ἀργύριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔπειτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατάλογον διακοσίοις βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φεισάμενος οὐδενός. ἐσκόπουν γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἔσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασα- 368
μένων τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἑλομένοις ἔχειν· ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἐκείνων μεν οὐ τοὺς δυναμένους εἵλεσθε, λαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε παραπλήσια πόλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐνομουμένῃ, πρέποντα δ᾽ ὑμῶν ἄλλως τῷ τρόπῳ. βούλεσθε ἑνὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὀνομάσαντες, πρὶν προσγραφῆναι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώρου τῆς δίκης οὔσης, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργίᾳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἄλλον ἀπ᾽ ἀγορᾶς εἱλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν B
ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ᾽ ὑμῖν δὲ διὰ περιττὴν φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίον συρφετῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἵλεσθε κοινωνόν. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ὀνομασίας κακουργούντων ὑμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἅπαντα συνεχωρήσαμεν, ὧν τε εὖ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν ἀπεστερήθημεν, καὶ ὧν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκῃ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν πάνυ καὶ οὔπω C
δυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι· τὸ δὲ δὴ

that of the Alexandrians who dwell in Egypt,—I remitted large sums of gold and of silver also, and all the tribute money for you separately apart from the other cities; and moreover I increased the register of your Senate by two hundred members and spared no man;[1] for I was planning to make your city greater and more powerful.

I therefore gave you the opportunity to elect and to have in your Senate the richest men among those who administer my own revenues and have charge of coining the currency. You however did not elect the capable men among these, but you seized the opportunity to act like a city by no means well-ordered, though quite in keeping with your character. Would you like me to remind you of a single instance? You nominated a Senator, and then before his name had been placed on the register, and the scrutiny of his character was still pending, you thrust this person into the public service. Then you dragged in another from the market-place, a man who was poor and who belonged to a class which in every other city is counted as the very dregs, but who among you, since of your excessive wisdom you exchange rubbish for gold, enjoys a moderate fortune; and this man you elected as your colleague. Many such offences did you commit with regard to the nominations, and then when I did not consent to everything, not only was I deprived of the thanks due for all the good I had done, but also I have incurred your dislike on account of all that I in justice refrained from.

Now these were very trivial matters and could not so far make the city hostile to me. But my greatest

[1] The Senatorship was an expensive burden.

μέγιστον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ μέγα ἤρθη μῖσος, ἀφικομένου μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πνιγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀφῆκε φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτην· "Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ." τῆς ἐπιούσης διελέχθην ἐγὼ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν πείθειν, ὅτι κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ὑπεριδόντας ἀδίκου D κτήσεως εὖ ποιῆσαι πολίτας καὶ ξένους. οἱ δὲ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελήσεσθαι μηνῶν ἑξῆς τριῶν ὑπεριδόντος μου καὶ περιμείναντος οὕτως ὀλιγώρως εἶχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἤλπισεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ δήμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρουμένην, 369 ἔταξα μέτριον ἑκάστου τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πάνυ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· σίτου δ' ἐνδεῶς εἶχον, ἀφορίας δεινῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐχμῶν γενομένης, ἔδοξέ μοι πέμπειν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις τὰς πέριξ, ἔνθεν εἰσήγαγον ὑμῖν μέτρων τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τοῦτο, πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χιλίους, ἑπτάκις χιλίους δ' B ὕστερον, εἶτα νῦν μυρίους, οὓς ἐπιχώριόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ὀνομάζειν μοδίους, ἀνάλισκον σίτου, πάντας οἴκοθεν ἔχων. ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κομισθέντα μοι σῖτον ἔδωκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενος ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐπὶ δέκα μέτρων,[1] ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα το-

[1] *οὐκ ἐπὶ—μέτρων* Hertlein suggests, *οὐ κατὰ—μέτρα* MSS.

offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, "Everything plentiful; everything dear!" On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—"modii"[1] as they are called in my country—all of which was my very own property; moreover I gave to the city corn which had been brought for me from Egypt; and the price which I set on it was a silver piece, not for ten measures but for fifteen, that is to say, the same

[1] The modius was a bushel measure.

σοῦτον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἰ δὲ τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἦν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος, τί προσδοκᾶν ἔδει τηνικαῦτα, ἡνίκα, φησὶν ὁ Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν C ἐπὶ δώματι; ἆρ' οὐ πέντε μόγις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικούτου χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου;

Τί οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν σῖτον λάθρᾳ ἀπέδοντο πλείονος, ἐβάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασι· καὶ οὐχ ἡ πόλις μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦτο συρρεῖ, οἱ D πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν, ὃ μόνον ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν πολὺ καὶ εὔωνον, ἄρτους ὠνούμενοι. καίτοι τίς μέμνηται παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθηνουμένης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκαίδεκα μέτρα σίτου πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταύτης ἕνεκεν ὑμῖν ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σῖτον ἄργυρον αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξαίφνης παρ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι. 370 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο καλῶς, ἐργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λιμὸν ἀλοιητῆρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ' ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ γέγονεν ἄρτων ἕνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός.

Συνίην μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὅτι μὴ B πᾶσιν ἀρέσοιμι, πλὴν ἔμελεν οὐδὲν ἐμοί· τῷ γὰρ

amount that had formerly been paid for ten measures. And if in summer, in your city, that same number of measures is sold for that sum, what could you reasonably have expected at the season when, as the Boeotian poet says, "It is a cruel thing for famine to be in the house."[1] Would you not have been thankful to get five measures for that sum, especially when the winter had set in so severe?

But what did your rich men do? They secretly sold the corn in the country for an exaggerated price, and they oppressed the community by the expenses that private persons had to incur. And the result is that not only the city but most of the country people too are flocking in to buy bread, which is the only thing to be found in abundance and cheap. And indeed who remembers fifteen measures of corn to have been sold among you for a gold piece, even when the city was in a prosperous condition? It was for this conduct that I incurred your hatred, because I did not allow people to sell you wine and vegetables and fruit for gold, or the corn which had been locked away by the rich in their granaries to be suddenly converted by you into silver and gold for their benefit. For they managed the business finely outside the city, and so procured for men "famine that grinds down mortals,"[2] as the god said when he was accusing those who behave in this fashion. And the city now enjoys plenty only as regards bread, and nothing else.

Now I knew even then when I acted thus that I should not please everybody, only I cared nothing

[1] This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.
[2] A phrase from an unknown oracular source.

ἀδικουμένῳ πλήθει βοηθεῖν ᾤμην χρῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις, ἐμοῦ τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῖν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δ' οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι, τὴν πόλιν δ' εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ γνώμης μιᾶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν· Ἀδραστείᾳ πάντα ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος οἰχήσομαι καὶ δῆμον ἕτερον, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας ὧν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔμπροσθεν C ἐννέα δίκαια δρῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε, φέρων μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν ξὺν βοῇ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτιννὺς τὸν ἄρχοντα, δίκην δ' αὖθις ἀποτίνων ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὧν ὀργιζόμενος δικαίως ἔπραξεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

Ὑπὲρ τίνος οὖν πρὸς θεῶν ἀχαριστούμεθα; ὅτι τρέφομεν ὑμᾶς οἰκοθεν, ὃ μέχρι σήμερον D ὑπῆρξεν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὕτω λαμπρῶς; ὅτι τὸν κατάλογον ὑμῶν ηὐξήσαμεν; ὅτι κλέπτοντας ἑλόντες οὐκ ἐπεξήλθομεν; ἑνὸς ἢ δύο βούλεσθε ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω, μή τις ὑπολάβῃ σχῆμα καὶ ῥητορείαν εἶναι καὶ προσποίησιν τὸ πρᾶγμα; γῆς κλήρους οἶμαι τρισχιλίους ἔφατε ἀσπόρους εἶναι καὶ ᾐτήσασθε λαβεῖν, λαβόντες

about that. For I thought it was my duty to assist the mass of the people who were being wronged, and the strangers who kept arriving in the city both on my account and on account of the high officials who were with me. But since it is now, I think, the case that the latter have departed, and the city is of one mind with respect to me—for some of you hate me and the others whom I fed are ungrateful—I leave the whole matter in the hands of Adrasteia[1] and I will betake myself to some other nation and to citizens of another sort. Nor will I even remind you how you treated one another when you asserted your rights nine years ago; how the populace with loud clamour set fire to the houses of those in power, and murdered the Governor; and how later they were punished for these things because, though their anger was justified, what they did exceeded all limits.[2]

Why, I repeat, in Heaven's name, am I treated with ingratitude? Is it because I feed you from my own purse, a thing which before this day has never happened to any city, and moreover feed you so generously? Is it because I increased the register of Senators? Or because, when I caught you in the act of stealing, I did not proceed against you? Let me, if you please, remind you of one or two instances, so that no one may think that what I say is a pretext or mere rhetoric or a false claim. You said, I think, that three thousand lots of land were uncultivated, and you asked to have them; and when you had got them

[1] The avenging goddess who is more familiarly known as Nemesis.

[2] In 354 A.D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.

δ' ἐνείμασθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τοῦτο ἐξε-
τασθὲν ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς
ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμο-
νήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὧν ἔσχον
ἀτελεῖς, οὓς μάλιστα ἐχρῆν ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, 371
ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἔνειμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοὺς τῆς
πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον
ὑμῖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἱπποτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς
τρισχιλίους, ἐπινοίᾳ μὲν καὶ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῦ θείου
τοὐμοῦ καὶ ὁμωνύμου, χάριτι δ' ἐμῇ, ὃς δὴ τοὺς
πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὕτω κολάζων εἰκότως
ὑμῖν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ B
ἴστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πραότης αὔξει
καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὖν μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περίσταται πάλιν
εἰς ὅπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν
αἴτιος γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἤθη
τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἐστι τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο
καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ
τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνε-
τώτερος· ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C
καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς
ἀποδοῖεν.

you all divided them among you though you did not need them. This matter was investigated and brought to light beyond doubt. Then I took the lots away from those who held them unjustly, and made no inquiries about the lands which they had before acquired, and for which they paid no taxes, though they ought most certainly to have been taxed, and I appointed these men to the most expensive public services in the city. And even now they who breed horses for you every year hold nearly three thousand lots of land exempt from taxation. This is due in the first place to the judgment and management of my uncle and namesake[1] but also to my own kindness; and since this is the way in which I punish rascals and thieves, I naturally seem to you to be turning the world upside down. For you know very well that clemency towards men of this sort increases and fosters wickedness among mankind.

Well then, my discourse has now come round again to the point which I wished to arrive at. I mean to say that I am myself responsible for all the wrong that has been done to me, because I transformed your graciousness to ungracious ways. This therefore is the fault of my own folly and not of your licence. For the future therefore in my dealings with you I indeed shall endeavour to be more sensible: but to you, in return for your good will towards me and the honour wherewith you have publicly honoured me, may the gods duly pay the recompense!

[1] cf. 340 A, 365 C.

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